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PEOPLED SCROLLS: A HELLENISTIC MOTIF IN IMPERIAL ART*

THE peopling of floral scrolls with living creatures is a decorative device which enjoyed unrivalled popularity throughout the whole history of Imperial art and in almost every country of the Empire. Its full cultivation and flowering were achieved in the Roman age; but its roots, like those of nearly every Roman art-motif, are in the late classical Greek and Hellenistic worlds. These roots were varied and complex. The primitive notion of spirits indwelling in trees and plants, and at a later stage personified in visible shape, may have played a part; some of the constituent elements can certainly be traced back to religious symbolism; and more immediate was the influence of the naturalistic trend of fourth-century art, which favoured the idea of rendering birds, insects, and small beasts in their native setting. In Hellenistic and Imperial times, as these elements mingled and the motif became more widespread, fancy came gradually to outweigh fact; and a delight in incongruity for its own sake found ready expression in the peopling of vine- and acanthus-rinceaux with mythological and genre scenes and figures, framed in the foliage or poised on slender stems, or with human figures and such solid quadrupeds as dogs, bulls, horses, bears, panthers, and lions, careering through the leafy whorls or springing from the hearts of flowers. These alternative conceptions of the animated scroll, the factual and the fanciful, persisted side by side down to the end of the ancient world and far beyond it; but while in the Roman age the detailed treatment often reflects a loving observation of nature, the composition usually betrays a marked predilection for the fanciful.

* The following publications are cited throughout in abbreviated form:

AJA	*American Journal of Archaeology.*
Arch. Anz.	*Archäologischer Anzeiger*, supplement to *JDAI.*
Ath. Mitt.	*Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts: athenische Abteilung.*
Benndorf and Schöne	O. Benndorf and R. Schöne, *Die antiken Bildwerke des lateranensischen Museums*, 1867.
Boll. d'arte	*Bollettino d'Arte del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione.*
Bull. Com.	*Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica del Comune (Governatorato) di Roma.*
CRAcad	*Comptes-Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et des Belles Lettres.*
Espérandieu	E. Espérandieu, *Recueil général des bas-reliefs de la Gaule romaine.*
Gusman	P. Gusman, *L'art décoratif de Rome*, 3 vols., 1914.
JDAI	*Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts.*
JRS	*Journal of Roman Studies.*
MAAR	*Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome.*
Mendel	G. Mendel, *Musées impériaux ottomans: catalogue des sculptures grecques, romaines et byzantines*, 3 vols., 1914.
Peirce and Tyler	H. Peirce and R. Tyler, *L'art byzantin*, 2 vols., 1932.
Pergamon	*Altertümer von Pergamon*, vols. i–x, 1885–1937.
Röm. Mitt.	*Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts: römische Abteilung.*
Squarciapino	M. Squarciapino, *La Scuola di Afrodisia (Studi e Materiali del Museo dell'Impero Romano*, 3), 1943.
Strong	E. Strong, *La scultura romana*, 2 vols., 1926.
von Blanckenhagen	P. H. von Blanckenhagen, *Flavische Architektur und ihre Dekoration*, 1940.

To avoid misunderstanding, it is well at the outset to make it clear that the writers have deliberately avoided any detailed discussion of the meaning, if any, that lay behind the several uses of the various types of peopled scroll. Some, it is clear, came in time to be used as purely decorative devices, devoid of inner significance, save in the very generalised sense in which it may be argued that antiquity never achieved so complete a divorcement from content as that which characterises much of the ornament of the post-medieval world. To this category would seem, for example, to belong many of the architectural uses of the peopled acanthus-scroll. Other motifs again were undoubtedly used with a deliberate and conscious symbolism. Many, perhaps the majority, of the pagan vine-scrolls are the tangible expression of the complex of ritual observance and after-life speculation which constituted the Dionysiac cults; and just as these cults had borrowed and reinterpreted much that was older, so the vine-scroll passed naturally and easily into the symbolic language of the early Christian Church. In the light-hearted incongruities of these figured, scroll-work patterns, symbolism found a ready means of expression, and, in return, it gave fresh life to motifs already sanctioned by centuries of decorative use. The relative importance of these two aspects, the symbolic and the decorative, cannot always be easily assessed; and while both may be essential to a full understanding of the development and use of a particular decorative motif, it is legitimate and useful to clear the ground by the more limited study of its formal development and of its geographical and chronological incidence.

The material discussed in the following pages ranges from the Hellenistic to the late classical age and is drawn from almost every province of the Roman Empire. In attempting to cover so wide a field, it is essential at the outset to define certain recurrent forms. These did not, of course, exist and develop in isolation: on the contrary, there was a constant interplay of ideas, a constant merging and re-emerging of identity. Nevertheless, certain decorative devices and fancies, once established, did display an astonishing tenacity; and it is with their incidence and the manner of their treatment within the broadly developing stream of Roman art, that this paper is mainly concerned.

In the first place we have to distinguish between three basic forms of floral scroll: the free scroll, in which the stem winds across the available ground in a free, curvilinear pattern; the single running scroll, horizontal or vertical, with a single stem looped alternately to fill a narrow horizontal or vertical strip of pattern, such as a frieze or pilaster; and the double scroll or medallion-scroll, horizontal or vertical, in which two stems interlace to form circular or oval medallions. The representation of figures in conjunction with these is very various. They may be scattered freely within the field, as decorative adjuncts to the pattern rather than as essential elements of it, as in the Ara Pacis dado (p. 8); they may themselves be the most important element in the design, loosely framed within a more or less independent setting of scroll-work, as in the S. Lorenzo sarcophagus (p. 24) or the mosaic in the baths of the 'Seven Sages' complex at Ostia (p. 22); or they may be integral and equal elements of the scroll-work pattern. In the latter case two recurrent forms may be distinguished. In the one the living figures are entwined within, and move through, the whorls of the scroll, either in a continuous series or alternating with flowers. In the other the figures emerge, waist-high or knee-high, from the flowers in the centre of each whorl. The figures themselves may be isolated puppets; or they may be linked by a common theme, a characteristic motif being

that of putti hunting; but in either case they remain an integral part of the scroll-work pattern, conforming to its evolutions and emphasising its rhythm.

Finally there are the figures which stand, or hover, at the spring of a scroll. Here a useful formal distinction may be drawn between those, on the one hand, which consist of free-standing figures, or the upper parts of figures, rising from the foliage at the centre of the scroll, in much the same way as the figures described in the preceding paragraph emerge from the flowers in the centres of the whorls; and on the other, those in which the central figure itself constitutes the root of the scroll, which breaks away, skirt-like, from the lower part of the body or sometimes, in the case of an animal, from the tail. The latter conceit, which in one form or another played so large a part in Roman decorative art, ranges over a field far wider than that which forms the subject-matter of this paper. It constitutes, however, a part of the essential background, and the points of impact and of over-lap were many.

For convenience of presentation the material is here grouped geographically. It is well, however, to emphasise at the outset that this grouping, which serves to underline the local characteristics of the several regions, is one only of several possible classifications of the subject-matter. Two of these, classification by content and by form, have been suggested in the preceding paragraphs: a third, in its own way no less significant, is that by material. It is abundantly clear that the minor arts in general, and possibly metal-work in particular, played an all-important part in the initial development and diffusion of the several motifs; and that their use in the minor arts and in the field of architectural ornament, which from its nature bulks so largely in the surviving body of material, do not at all necessarily coincide. With these reservations, however, and bearing in mind the limitations of the evidence, the geographical classification is both simple and useful.

Of the sections which follow, the first is devoted to the pre-Imperial beginnings of the several motifs. The following seven sections describe briefly their subsequent development in Rome and Italy down to late classical times, and, as a pendant to this story, their penetration into the European provinces of the Empire. The material from the eastern provinces, which might logically have received pride of place had it not been too scanty to afford a continuous sequence, follows next; and the last section is devoted to the closely related African series. These sections are convenient for purposes of exposition, and do, in fact, correspond to certain broad geographical divisions of the subject-matter. It must not, however, for a moment be imagined that they represent hard-and-fast boundaries, nor must the fact, that each region and each province had at any one moment its own favoured motifs and its own stylistic mannerisms, be allowed to conceal the importance of the constant exchange between one region and another of craftsmen and of ideas. It was this organic unity of Roman-age decorative art which, perhaps more that any other single factor, accounts for the remarkable persistence and vitality of so many of its constituent elements.

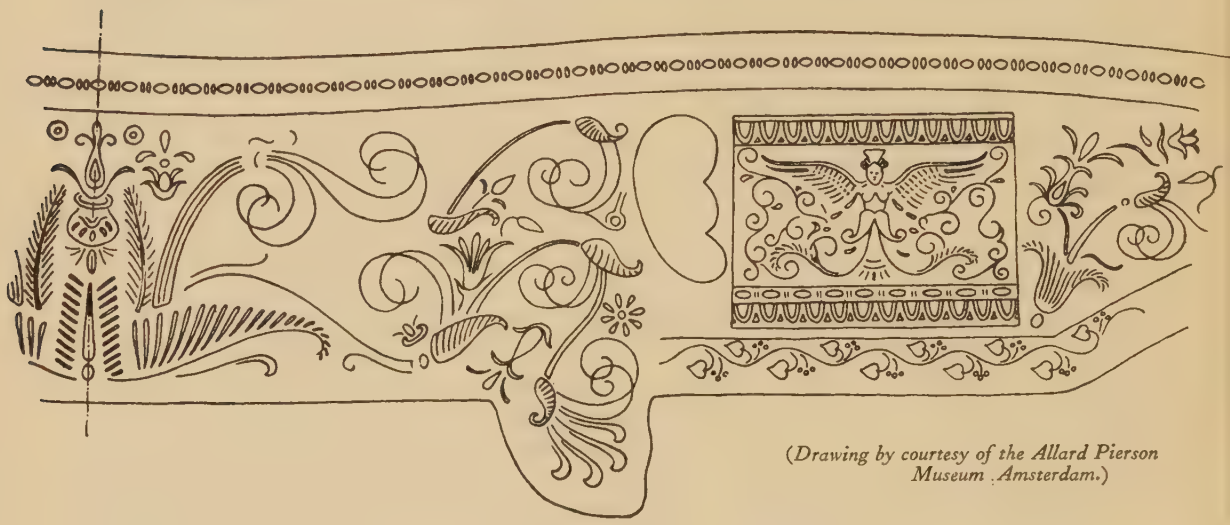
1. *The Pre-Imperial Background.*[1]

The roots of many of the motifs enumerated in the introductory section can be traced well back into pre-Imperial times. Architectural sculpture, which bulks so large

[1] The writers are indebted to Dr. Berta Segall for much valuable help and advice in the preparation of this summary of the pre-Roman development of the peopled scroll, and in particular for information regarding Hellenistic metal-work.

in the later material, entered the field relatively late; and it is to the minor arts, and in particular to the metal-work, that one has to turn for the first recorded uses of the peopled scroll. So many of the vital pages of the history of Hellenistic art are yet to be written, that it is hardly possible to do more than cite a representative cross-section of the available material. Despite these limitations, however, some such survey is needed, if the succeeding Roman material is to appear in its proper perspective.

A fine gold diadem, found in a tomb near the Dardanelles and now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, shows that already by the end of the fourth century B.C. miniature figures were appearing poised on or among the foliage of formal scrolls (Pl. I, 1).[2]



(*Drawing by courtesy of the Allard Pierson Museum, Amsterdam.*)

CAST OF A HELLENISTIC HELMET FOUND AT MEMPHIS, DETAIL (p. 5).

Ten small figures are seated on the stems, playing musical instruments, while Dionysos and Ariadne recline above the centre of the scroll. In a group of similar diadems, found with a coin of Alexander the Great in a tomb at Kyme in Aeolis and now in the British Museum, the figures are Erotes, seated, holding torches, in the scroll-work, or poised in flight beside a perching dove.[3] Among the precious late third-century group of gypsum casts and moulds from a metal-worker's shop at Memphis, one of the few pieces of direct evidence which we possess from Egyptian soil for the great Hellenistic school of metal-working centred in Alexandria, is the cast of part of a cup, of the same general form as the so-called Megarian bowls, with a slender figure climbing through the coils of scroll-work.[4] On a gold mount from the head-dress of the principal burial in the Koul-Oba Tumulus, near Kertch, female figures sit throned among the tangled foliage.[5] These examples suffice to show that during the fourth and third centuries B.C. the

[2] *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York*, i, 1906, 118–120; xxxv, 1940, 211 (ill.).

[3] F. H. Marshall, *Catal. of the Jewellery, Greek, Etruscan, and Roman in the British Museum*, 1901, nos. 1611–4, p. 172 (figs.).

[4] Otto Rubensohn, *Hellenistiches Silbergerät in antiken Gipsabgüssen* (*Festschrift zur Eröffnung des Pelizaus-Museums zu Hildesheim*), 1911, no. 19, pl. ix.

[5] S. Reinach, *Antiquités du Bosphore Cimmérien*, 1892, pl. ii, 1; E. H. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, Cambridge, 1913, fig. 96.

peopling of foliate scroll-work with human figures, and occasionally with beasts or birds, was already an established feature of ornamental metal-work.

A fourth- or early third-century gold diadem in the British Museum, of unknown provenience,[6] serves to illustrate the source of the foliate-skirted creature which figures so largely in later decorative sculpture (Pl. II, 1). Wearing the kalathos, and clutching the stems of the two coiled tendrils into which the lower part of her body is resolved, she is easily recognised as a form of the time-old 'Great Goddess' of Asia Minor. Sometimes she is figured alone, sometimes, as here, flanked by beasts in her rôle of πότνια θηρῶν; sometimes she clutches animal-headed coils, sometimes tendrils; and she is found most commonly at this early date in northern Greece and South Russia.[7] A fine second-century B.C. (?) example figures on a plaster model of a helmet from the same metal-worker's cache at Memphis.[7a] Her male counterpart figures, though less commonly, in similar guise as Dionysos-Sabazios.[8] Many of the representations of this figure are funerary,[9] and it is significant for its future as a decorative motif that it had already begun to be assimilated within the widening circle of Dionysiac speculation.

The scroll with protomai of beasts or human figures emerging from the whorls is not found at this early stage. It is possible, however, that bosses or spouts, such as the lion-head spouts which figure on the Chertomlyk silver amphora,[10] set neatly within the loops of a spreading, formal scroll, may have suggested the motif, many of the earliest surviving uses of which are to be found in the field of metal-work (p. 9). The same vase, in the general relation of figures to foliage, looks forward to such early-Imperial silver vessels as the large crater from the Hildesheim treasure and a pair of cups from the Boscoreale treasure,[11] while the doves and storks perched heraldically upon the foliage may be held to foreshadow the swans of the Ara Pacis dado.

In Magna Graecia early metal-work examples are lacking. Instead there are some Sicilian terracotta vessels with relief-decoration consisting of frontal heads in the loops of running floral scrolls[11a] and the series of Apulian funerary amphorae, on the necks and shoulders of which are commonly painted human heads springing from a flower or from the foliage at the heart of a scroll, or whole figures seated or hovering between the spread-

[6] Marshall, *op. cit.* no. 1610, pl. xxvii. Berta Segall, *Museum Benaki, Athen: Katalog der Goldschmiedearbeiten*, 1938, 28–9, no. 24, pl. 7, illustrates a very similar diadem in the Benaki Museum, and cites another, also in Athens, in the National Museum, no. 10832. She stresses the funerary connotations of such diadems.

[7] M. Rostovtzeff, 'Le culte de la grande déesse dans la Russie méridionale', *Rev. Études Grecques*, xxxii, 1919, 462–481, citing the relevant publications. The form with animal-headed coils, sometimes in the shape of stylized tendrils, sometimes serpent-like (*e.g.* Marshall, *op. cit.*, nos. 1265–6, pl. xvi, two seventh- or sixth-century gold plaques from Cerveteri; Minns, *op. cit.*, fig. 54, horse's frontal from Tsymbalka), is perhaps the prototype.

[7a] C. C. Van Essen, 'Modellen van Wapens uit hellenistischen tijd', *Bulletin van de Veraeniging tot Bevordering der kennis van de antieke Beschaving*, i, I, 18–21, figs. 1 and 3. C. S. Ponger, *Katalog der griechischen und römischen Skulptur, der steinernen Gegenstände und der Stuckplastik im Allard Pierson Museum zu Amsterdam*, 1942, pp. 86–7, no. 177, fig. 4, pl. xxxix. See fig. opposite.

[8] L. Curtius, *JDAI*, xliii, 1928, 281–297; found already in the 4th century on a three-sided base at Athens, dated probably 355–4 B.C. (*Ath. Mitt.* li, 1926 117 ff.); cf. the marble acroterion at Leningrad (*ibid.* pl. xix. 1) on which the figure clutches two beasts by the horns. For a surprisingly late representation, see the Antonine tomb of Q. Lollius Liberalis in the Lateran Museum (Curtius, *loc. cit.* fig. 19); each of the figures rests a hand on the shoulder of the deceased, and it is evident that, at least in a funerary context such as this, the foliate-skirted figure still retained a definite symbolic significance.

[9] *E.G.* the gold diadem worn by the queen in the Koul-Oba tumulus (Reinach, *op. cit.* pl. ii, 3). It is found commonly on wooden sarcophagi of the fourth and third centuries (C. Watzinger, *Griechische Holzsarkophage aus der Zeit Alexanders des Grossen*, Leipzig, 1905, pp. 37–8, figs. 65–6; p. 53, fig. 111; p. 62, nos. r and s; Minns, *op. cit.*, figs. 234, 276).

[10] N. P. Kondakov, J. I. Tolstoi, S. Reinach, *Antiquités de la Russie méridionale*, 1891, figs. 256–7; Minns, *op. cit.*, figs. 46–7; M. Rostovtzeff, *Iranians and Greeks in S. Russia*, 1922, pl. xxi, 2; P. Jacobsthal, *Ornamente Griechischer Vasen*, 1927, pls. 142–3.

[11] E. Pernice and F. Winter, *Der Hildeskeimer Silberfund*, 1901, pls. xxxii–xxxiii; *Monuments et Mémoires: Fondation Piot*, V, 1899, pls. ix–x.

[11a] *Ausonia*, viii, 1913, 27–34, figs. 1, a and b, 2.

ing volutes.[12] These amphorae enable us to date a number of examples in other media. A late fourth-century pebble mosaic at Durazzo offers a striking parallel;[13] and there are at least two surviving examples in architectural sculpture. The first is a fragment of a limestone pediment from Ceglie, near Bari, now in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, which figures the surviving member of a pair of symmetrically placed Erotes perched lightly upon a coiled tendril (Pl. III, 1).[14] This fragment, with its vigorous, ribbed foliage and the slender, boyish figure of the Eros, not yet the chubby baby of Hellenistic taste, may well be as early as the late fourth century. The second is one of a pair of friezes in a late third-century hypogeum at Lecce.[15] A human head springs from the central calyx of acanthus leaves; and through the foliage of the scroll scamper miniature Erotes with butterfly wings and an assortment of small beasts and birds. The capitals of the same hypogeum link these south-Italian animated scrolls with the well-known series of south-Italian, late Etruscan, and Republican Roman capitals, on which human heads or busts are combined with volutes and acanthus-foliage;[16] and at least one other late Etruscan monument, a terracotta frieze from Cerveteri in the Museo Gregoriano, must be more or less directly derivative from the same source (Pl. I, 2).[17] The centre for all this work was Taranto; and while there are inevitably a great many points of contact with the Hellenistic peopled scrolls of the eastern Mediterranean, the south-Italian series has on the whole a clearly defined character of its own.

The Lecce frieze may be as late as the close of the third century B.C.; and it was at about this date that the peopled scroll makes its first recorded appearance in the monumental architecture of the eastern Mediterranean. The temple of Artemis Leukophryene at Magnesia was begun soon after 220 B.C., and finished early in the following century. The Ionian Artemis was none other than a Hellenised version of the 'Great Goddess', and it was natural therefore that, winged and foliate-skirted, kalathos on head, she should have figured prominently in the architectural ornament of the temple, once clutching the stems of the formal frieze which unrolls to right and left from the lower part of her body along the inner face of the two antae (Pl. II, 2), and once rising majestically in the middle of the scroll-work of the central acroterion of the east gable.[18] It is easy to see how this last figure, the lower part of which is partly masked by the acanthus-calyx below, came in time to lose its foliate skirt and to figure simply as a winged being rising from the foliage. The line of descent from this figure to the winged Victory of the acroterion of the Traianeum at Pergamon[19] is clear and direct.

Whether or not the architect of the Artemision, Hermogenes, was the first to use this motif in monumental architecture, the fact and the manner of its use constitute a

[12] E. Gerhard, *Apulische Vasenbilder des königlichen Museums zu Berlin*, 1845, *passim*. The 'Great Goddess' figure, with kalathos and foliate skirt, figures once only (*ibid.*, pl. A, 1); for other instances of this figure from Hellenistic Italy, see Van Essen, *op. cit.*

[13] C. Praschniker, *Jahreshefte des österreichiechen archäologischen Institutes*, xxi–xxii, 1922–4, 203–214, figs. 122–3; cf. fig. 124, from the shoulder of an Apulian amphora.

[14] L. D. Caskey, *Museum of Fine Arts, Boston : Catal. of Greek and Roman Sculpture*, 1925, p. 105, no. 49; A. W. Lawrence, *Later Greek Sculpture*, 1927, pl. xc b; H. U. v. Schoenebeck, *Mnemosynon Theodor Wiegand*, 1938, 56, pl. xxi, 2.

[15] *Ausonia*, viii, 1913, 7–26, pl. i.

[16] E. v. Mercklin, *Arch. Anz.* 1925, 164 ff.; K. Ronczewski, *Röm. Mitt.* xlv, 1930, 59–79; F. Krauss and R. Herbig, *Der korinthisch-dorische Tempel am Forum von Paestum* (*Denkmäler antiker Architektur*, 7) 1939, 76.

[17] Photo: Alinari, Roma 35574.

[18] J. Kohte and C. Watzinger, *Magnesia am Maeander*, 1904, figs. 57, 60, 61 (acroterion), and 65, 69 (frieze). Pride of place should perhaps go to the small winged figure at the centre of the scroll from the smaller, and probably slightly earlier, temple of Zeus Sosipolis in the same city, now in Istanbul (Mendel, I, pp. 423–4, no. 194). Here, too, the stems of the scroll spring from an acanthus-calyx and not from the body of the figure.

[19] *Pergamon*, v, 2, 33–4, pls. xiv–xv.

vital step in its development. The same winged creature, kalathos on head and clutching in either hand the coiled stems springing from the inverted calyx of acanthus-leaves that opens out below her waist, figures not long afterwards on the pilaster-capitals at the angles of the cella of the temple of Apollo Didymaios at Miletus.[20] It may very well be that in this detail the Artemision served as a model for the architects of the Didymaion; and certainly, with its use on these two great Ionian sanctuaries, this variant of the peopled scroll-motif passed into the accepted canon of Hellenistic architectural ornament.

There is no need to follow all the subsequent adventures of the motif. The foliate-skirted figure, with or without attendant beasts, was to persist, little altered, until it became a part of the stock-in-trade of Italian decorative art from Pompeii onwards. In association with the peopled scroll it tends to lose its distinctive character and to become, in Roman times, a wingless female figure or a Victory, rising from the foliage at the centre of a scroll or hovering above the central calyx. In this latter form it is found at least as early as the Hellenistic age on numerous Apulian amphorae, and on a marble relief-fragment from the Athenian acropolis (a small lion, sheltering beneath the foliage, further enlivens the scene).[21] By late-Republican and early-Imperial times it had become a commonplace of decorative art, figuring in painting, stucco-work, terracotta, and sculpture.[22] An interesting late Hellenistic variant at Pergamon portrays an elaborately crowned Victory clutching the twin stems, which fork to frame her at the top of a formal, vertical scroll on each of the two carved faces of a marble pilaster: in one of the whorls of the scroll are the remains of a figure clutching a kantharos.[23] At least as late, however, as the second century A.D., a pair of pilaster-capitals from Heraclea-on-Marmara (p. 31) attest the common derivation of all these variant forms.

It is not at all surprising that the ruins of Pergamon, where the naturalistic rendering of flowers, fruit, and plants was cultivated with such success,[24] should have yielded the precursors of the two types of peopled scroll most favoured throughout Imperial times. These are the single running scroll (horizontal or vertical) of vine, or acanthus, or a combination of the two, variously inhabited by living things, and the double scroll (horizontal or vertical) of which the two interlaced stems form oval or circular medallions framing isolated figures or groups. The well-known mosaic border from the royal palace of the Attalids contains a horizontal vine-cum-acanthus rinceau, executed in polychrome on a black ground, with tiny putti, locusts, etc., flitting among the leaves, tendrils, and flowers (Pl. III, 2).[25] The subject-matter follows established canons:[26] it is only the

[20] Th. Weigand, *Didyma*, i (H. Knackfuss, *Die Baubeschreibung*), Berlin, 1941, nos. F. 248–251, pls. 107–9, and remarks on p. 66. For the chronology of the Didymaion, see E. Pontremoli and B. Haussoulier, *Didymes*, Paris, 1904; C. C. Van Essen, *Bulletin de Correspondence Hellénique*, lxx, 1946, 607–616.

[21] Gerhard, *op. cit. passim*; O. Walter, *Beschreibun der Reliefs im kleinen Akropolismuseum in Athen*, 1923, p. 221, no. 450 (fig.).

[22] *E.g.* G. E. Rizzo, *Le pitture della 'Casa di Livia'* (*Monumenti della pittura antica scoperti in Italia*, iii, fasc. 3) 1936, fig. 10; Gusman, ii, pl. 73 (the Farnesina stuccoes); *ibid.*, pl. 88 (circular marble base in the Terme Museum); *ibid.*, iii, pl. 164 (terracotta mural plaques in the Louvre; cf. the plaques from Myrina in the same collection).

[23] *Pergamon*, vii, 2, pp. 328–30, no. 412 (fig.). In every essential this arrangement already anticipates the topmost feature of one of the pilasters of the Severan basilica at Lepcis Magna (p. 38).

[24] *E.g.* the circular altar of Eumenes (*Pergamon*, vii, 2, 322, pl. xli); the marble relief-fragment showing sprays of corn and poppies (*ibid.*, no. 408, fig.); and the fragment of a terracotta beaker, now at Marburg, with putto and garland (*Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society*, xix, 1942–3, pl. ii a).

[25] *Pergamon*, v, i, Textbd. pls. xxvii–xxxviii; Tafbd. pls. xvii, xviii; M. Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World*, ii, 1941, 660, pl. lxxiv, 2.

[26] To the metal-work examples already cited may be added a gypsum cast from the late third-century metal-worker's shop at Memphis with tiny putti scrambling through the naturalistic foliage of a vine-rinceau (Rubensohn, *op. cit.*, no. 25, pl. viii; *v. supra*, p. 4, n. 4).

medium and the emphasis on naturalistic detail that are new, and these are sufficiently distinctive to establish beyond doubt the derivation, either from Pergamon or from a common source, of two first-century B.C. acanthus-scrolls from Pompeii, one in the border of the fish-mosaic from the House of the Faun (Pl. III, 3),[27] the other in a horizontal painted frieze from the Villa dei Misteri (Pl. III, 4).[28] Both are rendered on a dark ground and both show miniature putti in the foliage, while the painting also portrays, below the spirals of the scroll, a diminutive hare and running hound. A marble stele from Pergamon, now in Berlin (Pl. XXII, 1),[29] with widely spaced designs in low relief, and plant-forms somewhat unusually conventionalised for work of this school, is a Hellenistic forerunner of the vertical medallion-scroll. On either face two stout acanthus-stems, springing from a leaf-calyx at the bottom of the stele, cross one another half-way up and fill the field with two ovals. In the upper, and smaller, of these, on both faces, a large bunch of grapes and two vine-leaves sprout from the acanthus-stem. In the lower, and larger, oval on one face two Satyrs contemplate a sleeping Maenad: the corresponding scene on the opposite face shows a couple of goats reared heraldically against the mouth of an amphora. Here we may recognise in embryo a decorative scheme which will confront us later in Flavian Rome, at Baalbek in the second century A.D., and in Severan Libya.

2. *The Augustan and Julio-Claudian Periods in Rome and Italy.*

The Italian series of early-Imperial carved scrolls, running or spreading, discreetly peopled with small birds, insects, mice, snails, lizard, frogs, rabbits and such-like creatures, lies on the periphery of our subject. It is distinguished by the loving naturalism with which the individual plant-forms, notably the stems, leaves, flowers, and fruit of the rich acanthus-rinceaux, are treated, a naturalism in no way diminished when these are combined with sprays of vine and ivy, or even ears of corn. Outstanding examples of such scrolls are those that figure on the lower, outer dado of the Ara Pacis,[30] on the doorway of the Building of Eumachia at Pompeii,[31] and on the series of late Julo-Claudian pilasters, of which one section is in the Uffizi Gallery[32] and four others in the Belvedere of the Villa Medici.[33] These all belong to a sober and relatively factual world. The inhabiting fauna are all more or less in scale and quite secondary to the luxuriant vegetation. Human beings and the larger quadrupeds have no place.

It is very different when we turn instead to the products of another, more fanciful trend in decorative art, which made its appearance in Italy early in the Augustan age. These fancies found expression in third-style wall-painting, which was introduced not later than *c.* 30 B.C.; and from Vitruvius' criticism of this style we may infer that they came from abroad, and specifically from the eastern provinces.[34] He condemns the style

[27] E. Pernice, *Die hellenistische Kunst in Pompeji: Pavimente und figürliche Mosaiken*, 1938, 150, pls. lii, liii.

[28] *Ibid.* 150, pl. xliii, 2.

[29] *Pergamon*, vii, 2, pp. 323–6, no. 407, fig. and Beiblatt xliii; *Mnemosynon Theodor Wiegand*, 1938, 59, pl. xxiii (one face only).

[30] G. Moretti, *Ara Pacis Augustae*, 1948, pls. i–iv, x–xviii.

[31] *Arch. Anz.* 1934, 473–4, fig. 19; V. Spinazzola, *Le arti decorative in Pompei e nel Museo Nazionale di Napoli*, 1928, pls. xxi b, xxii. Photo: Alinari, Napoli 19045.

[32] Moretti, *op. cit.*, 201–3, fig. 162. Photos: Anderson, Firenze 9320, and Brogi, Firenze, 4301.

[33] *Capitolium*, viii, 4, April 1923, 167–171, figs. 15–19. The suggestion that they may come from the forum of Caesar must be rejected. They are altogether more delicate and widely spaced than the Domitianic scrolls from that site (*v. infra*, p. 12). The deeply-drilled border-moulding, however, suggests a date little, if at all, before the middle of the first century.

[34] *De Architectura*, vii, 5, 3–5, published after the battle of Actium in 31 B.C. and before the assumption of the title Augustus in 27 B.C.

in general as an innovation due to the depraved taste of his own day, and inveighs specifically against *surgentes ex radicibus cum volutis teneri flores habentes in se sine ratione sedentia sigilla, non minus coliculi dimidiata habentes sigilla alia humanis, alia bestiarum capitibus. Haec autem,* he continues, *nec sunt nec fieri possunt nec fuerunt. Quemadmodum enim potest coliculus tam tenuis et mollis sustinere sedens sigillum, aut de radicibus et coliculis ex parte flores dimidiataque sigilla procreari?* A few lines later he compares third-style paintings with the fantastic stage-scenery invented by Apaturius of Alabanda for the theatre at Tralles. Fortunately for Roman art, and for the art of medieval and Renaissance Europe, in which the life of the Graeco-Roman peopled scroll was to be prolonged for many centuries, these literal-minded strictures passed unheeded.

Many of these fancies can be seen already in use in the late second-style paintings of the House of Livia on the Palatine, and in particular in the 'Room of the winged friezes', where every one of the figures represented finds its counterpart in the metal-work of the Hellenistic age or in Apulian vase-painting.[35] These heraldically posed grotesques, however, lie on the margin of the present inquiry. The painting of the Augustan age does not appear to have included peopled scrolls of a more formal, architectural character; and in particular we miss one of the commoner of the later sculptural motifs, the peopled scroll with protomai, half-length or three-quarter-length figures of human beings and animals, emerging from the flowers. The words of Vitruvius, *coliculi dimidiata habentes sigilla alia humanis, alia bestiarum capitibus,* might equally refer to that other form of foliate being, already discussed in connexion with such objects as the πότνια θηρῶν diadem in the British Museum (p. 5), a form which appears already in Italian painting in the House of Livia and, in both human and animal guise, was to become a stock feature of the later Pompeian styles. It may be that the scroll with animal-protomai was derived rather from metal-work. Certainly among the earliest surviving examples are four groups of silver vessels in the Hildesheim treasure, some of them imported (from Alexandria?), some probably of local, Gaulish workmanship.[36] Some such metal-work original must have served as a model for the Arretine vessels, figuring the protomai of horses and of bulls springing from flowers, from the workshop of the late Augustan and Tiberian potter, M. Perennius Bargathes, of which a cup in New York will serve as an example. From the bases of tall acanthus-sprays sprout four leafy spirals, each terminating in a flower, which disgorges from its centre the forepart of a horse or of a bull (Pl. IV, 2).[37] A painting in the House of the Vettii at Pompeii depicts the forequarters of two leopards springing outwards from the flowers of an acanthus-scroll set against the stem of an elaborate candelabrum (Pl. V); and it may well be that such three-dimensional metal-work representations first inspired what is otherwise a very quaint conceit. It was not until the second half of the first century A.D. that the motif passed into architectural sculpture.

In the scroll-borders of the Pergamene mosaic type, animated by diminutive human and animal figures, the main accent is still laid upon the floral elements. During the

[35] G. E. Rizzo, *Le pitture della 'Casa di Livia'* (*Monumenti della pittura antica scoperti in Italia*, iii, fasc. 3) 1936, 11–14, figs. 8–10.

[36] E. Pernice and F. Winter, *Der Hildesheimer Silberfund*, 1901, pp. 25–6, pl. iii; pp. 37–41, pls. xiii–xvi; pp. 57–9, pl. xxix; pp. 67–9, pls. xxxviii–xl.

[37] *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum: U.S.A. fasc.* 9, *Metropolitan Museum of Art, fasc. i*, 1943, 20, pl. xxx. *Cf. Karl Schumacher Festschrift*, 1930, 303, pl. xxxv, 5; H. Dragendorff—C. Watzinger, *Arretinische Reliefkeramik*, 1948, nos. 231–2, 266.

first century A.D. Romano-Campanian wall-paintings feature a new type of running scroll, in which the interest is more evenly distributed between the vegetation and its living occupants. The latter now form an integral part of the scroll itself, being actually contained within the whorls. A third-style border from a house beside the basilica at Pompeii shows this evolution at an early stage. Three friezes, one horizontal and two vertical, are filled by acanthus-scrolls done in polychrome on a dark ground: in every third spiral is a creature, a dove, frog, or roe(?), while the centres of each pair of intervening spirals hold flowers.[38] The Casa del Sirico, the owner of which was duumvir of Pompeii in A.D. 60,[39] has early fourth-style paintings of the late fifties or early sixties. The circular volutes of a rich acanthus-rinceau, painted in bright colours against a dark background, are again occupied by alternating flowers and animals, facing to right or left.[40] Only slightly later, it may be, in the series, and possibly by the same hand, is the horizontal acanthus-frieze in the Naples Museum from the portico of the temple of Isis at Pompeii (A.D. 63–79), also executed in polychrome on a dark ground (Pl. VI, 3). Every other spiral terminates in a large flower: the others frame a variety of creatures: putti, birds, quadrupeds such as horses, bears, panthers, bulls, and goats, standing in, or prancing through, the foliage; Nilotic beasts; and crouching apes.[41] From the Casa di Naviglio at Pompeii, *c.* A.D. 70, comes another similar scroll, with foliate-skirted putti and animals in its roundels, painted in yellow on a dark ground;[42] from Herculaneum yet another with horses, goats, stags, lions, and bulls in its volutes and Nilotic figures populating the central calyx.[43] In these scrolls, as von Blanckenhagen has observed,[44] the beasts thread their way inwards and outwards through the loops of the whirling spirals in which they are entwined. They are thus not mere adjuncts to the foliage, but related to it spatially.

Very different in treatment is a stucco pilaster in the small subsidiary shrine of the Pompeian Iseum (Pl. VI, 1). A double vertical acanthus-scroll springs from a calyx below. Its narrow stems, tightly sheathed in slender leaves, interlock as they climb the face of the pilaster, producing a succession of round medallions, within each of which is an Isiac emblem—a sistrum, a pair of cymbals, a flask with projecting handles (or, possibly, a head-dress), a seated baboon, and the largely defaced figure of a warrior with a shield. The baboon and warrior are balanced on the stems, while the ritual objects are slung on cords from their points of intersection. For the peopling of floral scrolls with inanimate objects there is Hellenistic precedent from Pergamon, a marble frieze-fragment in Berlin, depicting a group of weapons, a Gallic carnyx, a crested helmet, and a quiver in an acanthus-spiral, one loop of which serves as a peg on which to hang the helmet.[45]

A series of roughly carved stone friezes, some preserved in the Terme Museum in Rome,[46] others in municipal museums, or inset into buildings of post-classical date,[47]

[38] W. Zahn, *Die schönsten Ornamente und merkwürdigsten Gemälde aus Pompeji, Herculaneum und Stabiae*, I, 3, 1828, pl. xxix. Cf. von Blanckenhagen, 85, n. 4.

[39] von Blanckenhagen, 85, n. 3.

[40] Spinazzola, *op. cit.*, pl. cv.

[41] Zahn, *op. cit.* I, i, 1828, pls. v, vi; I, 5, 1828, pl. xlix; III, 1852, pl. vii; von Blanckenhagen, pl. xxix, 81; O. Elia, *Le pitture del tempio di Iside* (*Monumenti della pittura antica scoperti in Italia*, iii, fasc. 3–4) 1941, figs. 1 and 5, pls. vi, vii.

[42] Zahn, *op. cit.*, I, 7, 1829, pl. lxvi.

[43] *Museo Borbonico*, 1833, ix, pl. xxiv.

[44] von Blanckenhagen, 85.

[45] *Pergamon*, vii, 2, 306–7, no. 396, Beiblatt 40.

[46] *E.g.* inv. no. 59506, from the Abruzzi; above, a horizontal acanthus-scroll with man and bird and, below, a fragmentary inscription, in good first-century lettering: . . . VLLI. L. PHILO SEVIR . . . O MENOPHILO

illustrate local Italian taste in peopled scrolls. These are hard to date with precision, in view of their quasi-provincial style. But the wide spacing and stylisation of their designs, combined with the careful, occasionally naturalistic, rendering of the plant-forms, suggests that the stones themselves, or the models from which they are drawn are early and might fall between the last years of the Republic and the latter half of the first century A.D. Two examples will suffice to indicate their character. The one, a frieze at Aquino, running along the top of an inscribed architectural fragment, shows at the spring of two floral scrolls a winged, naked female figure, emerging at thigh-level from an acanthus-calyx and grasping in either hand the stems of the plant, in which two birds are perched (Pl. II, 3).[48] The second piece, at Parma, contains a horizontal acanthus-rinceau, with ivy sprays, grapes, and pecking birds, twisted into a central roundel, in which the figure of a naked woman, holding an apple, is framed: figure-groups of men and beasts appear at either end below the scroll.[49]

3. *The Flavian Age in Rome and Italy.*

Down to the third quarter of the first century A.D. the development of peopled scrolls in Rome and Italy seems to have been mainly the work of wall-painters and minor craftsmen. The Flavian age saw their adoption by metropolitan sculptors in state employ, and their first public appearance as integral elements in the ornamentation of official monuments.

Acanthus-scrolls with animal-protomai, unfortunately much weathered, figure twice on the arch of Divus Titus, erected in the early years of Domitian's principate.[50] Within the arch, flanking the two famous reliefs, are narrow, vertical panels, each bisected from bottom to top by a straight stem, from which whorls, terminating in flowers, bud off in pairs to right and left. Foreparts of horses, lions, bulls, and bears spring from the flowers of every other pair (Pl. VII, 1).[51] In the soffit of the architrave on the east side of the arch the motif makes a second appearance, this time in the form of a horizontal frieze, from the flowers in the whorls of which spring the foreparts of animals, including bulls, rams, and bears (Pl. VIII, 2).[52] The flowing treatment of the sinuous stems matches the plastic modelling of the beasts.

From the Aula Regia of Domitian's palace on the Palatine comes a series of scrolls that can be dated within a few years of A.D. 90. The Aula Regia was completed after the Emperor's Germanic triumph of 86 and 89, to judge from the types of arms depicted on the 'Tropaea Farnese', which were found there and are now in the inner porch of the

LIBERTO . . . TIOPAE LIBERTAE VXORI. (R. Paribeni, *Le Terme di Diocleziano ed il Museo Nazionale Romano*, 1932, p. 61, no. 41); and inv. no. 120709, from Otricoli, a horizontal acanthus-scroll with a miniature pig and a bird (C. Pietrangeli, *Ocricolum* (*Italia Romana: municipi e colonie*, I, 7) 1943, p. 98, no. 34; pl. xvi, c illustrates a part of the same frieze); and inv. no. 34219, from Chieti (found with the remains of the tomb of C. Lusius Sorax), a funerary stele with a scroll-work border, one volute of which is filled by a mask with a tiny bird above it (*Monumenti Antichi*, xix, 1908, 582, n. 1, fig. 17).

[47] *E.g.* two horizontal frieze-fragments with birds at Foligno.

[48] Inscribed: ARBITRATV C. BETVTI M.F. OVF. ET P. ALFI P.L. PHILOMVSI. Former German Arch. Inst., Rome, neg. 31. 3979.

[49] Former German Arch. Inst., Rome, neg. 33. 437.

[50] A Nervan-Trajanic date has been proposed by D. McFayden (*Classical Journal* xi, 1915, 131 ff.) and F. Magi (*I rilievi flavi del Palazzo della Cancelleria*, Rome, 1945, 160 ff.); but the reasons advanced are hardly sufficient to justify the rejection of the traditional date, confirmed by K. Lehmann-Hartleben (*Bull. Com.* lxii, 1934, 89–122) and von Blanckenhagen (pp. 62–4). See *JRS* xxxvii, 1947, 190.

[51] L. Rossini, *Gli Archi Trionfali*, 1836, pl. xxxiv; von Blanckenhagen, pl. xvi. 51.

[52] L. Rossini, *op. cit.* pl. xxxiv. Photo: Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale, neg. 26503.

Palazzo Farnese;[53] and we learn from Martial that the palace as a whole was completed by 92.[54] The Tropaea are two projecting entablature blocks, on the short, front faces of which are Victories and trophies, and on each long side an acanthus-rinceau, springing from a foliate-skirted putto at the forward angle and encircling a powerfully modelled beast within a whorl of foliage. To the same series belongs a damaged fragment of frieze in the Naples Museum;[55] and there is a fine fragment, now in the adjacent peristyle, showing a horse with sweeping tail galloping through an acanthus-whorl, a leaf from which encircles its belly (Pl. IX, 2).[56] Foliate-skirted putti figure on two other entablature-fragments at Naples, which also come probably from the Aula Regia.[57] They are identical in treatment with those already described, but rather smaller; and they depict, in the one case, two confronted putti flanking a candelabrum and, in the other, a single putto facing a candelabrum at the angle of the frieze. Both break into luxuriant acanthus scroll-work, but there is no figure in the single surviving whorl. The sculpture of the Aula Regia is only a few years later than that of the arch of Titus; but, despite its fragmentary character, it is clear that its lush, plastic quality represents a considerable advance on the bold, but more restrained, vegetation on the arch of Titus.

Only a few years later again is the sculptural ornament of the Forum Transitorium or Forum Nervae. The forum was dedicated by Nerva in A.D. 97;[58] but it had been begun at least a dozen years previously, before Martial published his first book of *Epigrams* in 85–6,[59] and its decorative features date probably from the early or middle nineties of the century. Among them, on the intercolumnar soffit-panels of an architrave, is to be seen an interesting variant of the peopled scroll, a Medusa mask forming the central medallion of a schematic, but luxuriant, and intensely lively, acanthus-scroll (Pl. XII, 2).[60] The scroll-framed mask is another of the recurrent motifs for which there is Hellenistic precedent, a marble frieze-fragment from Pergamon, depicting a Medusa mask on an aegis in a surround of rinceaux.[61]

There follow two monuments which, both in date and in character, reflect the transition from the first to the second century, from the robust expansiveness of the Flavian age to the more sober classicism of the age which followed. The first of these is the temple of Venus Genetrix in the forum of Caesar. Of the soffits from the entablature of this temple, two are re-erected *in situ*, while a third is set in a wall in the garden of the Villa Medici.[62] In the centre of each panel a naked putto stands knee-deep in an acanthus-flower, from which four spirals emerge and fill every inch of the field, as in the soffits from the Forum Transitorium. The interplay of light and shade produced by the high relief, the richness of the foliage as a whole, and the naturalism of the crisp, curling, individual leaves find their counterpart on the splendid acanthus-scroll which unfurls itself from a calyx of leaves along the frieze.[63] The latter, indeed, is devoid of

[53] F. Bianchini, *Del Palazzo de' Cesari*, Verona, 1738, 50 ff., pls. ii–v; M. Durry, 'Les trophées farnèses', *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, xxxix, 1922, 303–318, pl. viii; von Blanckenhagen, pp. 64–7, with bibliography.

[54] *Epigr.* vii, 56.

[55] Ruesch, *Guida illustrata del Museo Nazionale di Napoli*, 1911, no. 1020; von Blanckenhagen, pl. xix, 56 and 57.

[56] Von Blanckenhagen, pl. xx, 58; cf. pl. xx, 59, from the Aula Regia.

[57] Ruesch, *op. cit.*, no. 1020; von Blanckenhagen, pls. xxii, 65; xxiii, 66 and 67.

[58] CIL VI, 953 = 31213.

[59] *Epigr.* i, 2, 8.

[60] von Blanckenhagen, pl. xiii, 39 and 40.

[61] *Pergamon*, vii, 2, 1908, p. 307, no. 397 (fig.).

[62] C. Ricci, A. M. Colini, V. Mariani, *Via dell' Impero* (*Itinerari dei Musei e Monumenti d'Italia*, 24), Rome, 1933, p. 43 (fig.); *AJA*, xxxvii, 1933, pl. lvi. 2. Photo: Comune di Roma, neg. 21 × 27, 1000.

[63] *MAAR*, xiii, 1936, pl. liii, 1.

figures, but its clearly defined features, the double spirals of thick, ribbed, juicy stems, encircling in their whorls handsome, full-blown flowers with trailing pistils, the large, fleshy, heavily veined leaves, the combination of formal pattern with the exquisite rendering of detail, and the tapestry-like spread of the design over the entire field, all these features furnish important criteria for the dating of peopled scrolls of unknown or uncertain provenience. A fragment of another acanthus-scroll lying near-by, with birds flitting in the foliage and a different moulding below, must have belonged to some other architectural feature of the complex; but in style it is closely akin to the temple-frieze.[64] We know from Aurelius Victor that Trajan *Romae a Domitiano coepta forum et alia multa plus quam magnifice coluit ornavitque;*[65] and from the Fasti Ostienses that [*Templum Ven*]*eris in foro Caesaris . . . dedicavit* in A.D. 113.[66] The second of these passages might be taken to indicate that the temple is substantially a Trajanic monument. But despite the date of the formal completion of the temple (and with the forum of Trajan, also dedicated in 113, approaching completion, it may well be that a considerable interval elapsed between the main work on the temple of Venus Genetrix and its completion and dedication), it is clear that in spirit the greater part of the surviving architectural decoration belongs essentially to the Flavian epoch, and was executed by craftsmen who had been trained on the great Domitianic building-projects.[67] The hand of Trajan's decorators may be seen in the somewhat more classicizing frieze of putti with arms, which may come from the interior of the cella,[68] and in the panels, perhaps from the exterior of the temple-walls, each with two putti trailing scrolls and flanking a candelabrum. The latter, as can be seen in the surviving panel in the Villa Albani,[69] adopt a more stylised and less exuberant type of vegetation, and a harder, sharper, and more metallic execution than their counterparts in the Flavian frieze-fragments at Naples. They are related rather to the well-known fragments in the Lateran from a frieze in Trajan's forum, portraying foliate-skirted putti, griffins, and amphorae.[70]

The Trajanic date of the last-named pieces is certain, since late fifteenth- or early sixteenth-century drawings show portions of an entablature with identical motifs still *in situ* on the line of the south retaining-wall of the forum at its eastern end.[71] The two surviving panels were found in the time of Clement VIII (1592–1604), together with a magnificent fragment of acanthus-scroll frieze, also now in the Lateran,[72] under the church of S. Eufemia.[73] The church stood just to the south of the column, well to the north of the south wall of the forum, and the two panels were not therefore in their original position, when found, but must have been moved in antiquity. The same may very well be true of the fragment of acanthus-scroll, which cannot therefore be assumed,

[64] *MAAR*, xiii, 1936, pl. liii, 3.

[65] *Lib. de Caes.* 13.

[66] *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1932, 201.

[67] See also von Blanckenhagen, p. 77. Characteristic of Flavian architecture is the insertion of two small rings between the dentils of the entablature (G. Lugli, *Bull. Com.* xlvi, 1918 (1920), 35, note 1); cf. von Blanckenhagen, pls. xxi, 60 and xxvi, 72–3). Compare also the sima-ornament (*MAAR*, xiii, 1936, pl. li, 2) and the elaborately decorated bases (R. Naumann, *Der Quellbezirk von Nîmes* (*Denkmäler Antiker Architektur*, 4), 1937, 46 ff., pl. 39; *JRS*, xxxviii, 1948, 64, no. 17) with those of the Aula Regia (von Blanckenhagen, pl. xxi, 61 and 62; F. Bianchini, *Del Palazzo de'Cesari*, Verona, 1738, pl. iii).

[68] *AJA*, xxxvii, 1933, pl. lvi, 1; *MAAR*, xiii, 1936, pl. li, 1; Ricci, Colini, and Mariani, *op. cit.* p. 44 (fig.).

[69] M. Squarciapino, 'Pannello con amorini del Foro di Cesare', *Arti Figurative*, ii, 1946, 69 ff., pls. xxix and xxx.

[70] Benndorf and Schöne, pp. 38–9, nos. 59 and 60; Strong, i, pl. xxxiii; Gusman, ii, pl. cv. Photos: Anderson, Roma 1851 and 1852.

[71] A. Bartoli, 'La recinzione meridionale del Foro Traiano', *Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di archeologia*, series 3, *Memorie*, i, II, 1924, 177 ff., pl. xxxvii; 185, fig. 5.

[72] Gusman, iii, pl. cl. Photos: Anderson, Roma 1850; Moscioni, Roma 2932.

[73] Bartoli, *op. cit.* 183–4, figs. 3 and 4.

as is often the case, to have been a part of the ornament of Trajan's forum. It could equally well have come from the forum of Caesar, which directly adjoined a part of the south wall of Trajan's forum. In general form and in detail it so closely resembles the frieze of the temple of Venus Genetrix that it could well have come from the same building and from the same hand. Whether or not it was cut during the early years of Trajan's principate, it is essentially a late Flavian piece; and it can not be adduced as evidence of the survival of the Flavian monumental style into the second decade of the second century.

The second monument, which may be selected to illustrate the transition from the Flavian age, is very different in character and comes from a very different social background. From the great official monuments of the capital we pass to a group of sculptures which adorned the tomb of one who may have taken a modest part in their construction.[74] The homogeneous series of sculptures in the Lateran Museum, the members of which belong (either certainly or with great probability) to the Haterii monument, may be dated, both on iconographic and on stylistic grounds, to the turn of the century.[75] In the group of funerary portraits, both in the round[76] and, on the mausoleum, in relief,[77] Flavian female coiffures are combined with Trajanic male types of bust and hair-style; while in the treatment of vegetation the faithful rendering of individual leaves, fruit, flowers, and tendrils are retained, alongside of a new refinement and the re-emergence of the background, which the decorators of the great Flavian buildings had tended to obliterate as a factor in the design.

Three pieces from this tomb are of particular interest to the present inquiry. On the mausoleum-panel[78] are shown two pilasters, one at either end of the side wall of the podium. Up the face of each climbs a looped acanthus-stem, throwing off as it goes curling tendrils through which spring horses, stags, boars, and bears, very much in the manner of the fourth-style painted scrolls (Pl. XVI, 2). A pilaster, believed to have come also from the Haterii tomb, is carved on one face with a vertical medallion-scroll, the two stems of which, the one of ivy and the other of vine, spring from an acanthus-calyx. Threaded up the centre is a slender stand, carrying a lamp, and ornate thyrsoi frame the scroll on either side. In the foliage lurk tiny birds and beasts; and in each of the four oval medallions, formed by the intersections of the two stems, stands, poised, a Dionysiac figure: a youthful Satyr, a Maenad, a bearded Silenus and a second Maenad (Pl. XIII).[79] One has only to set this medallion-scroll, with its skilful gradations of relief and exquisite plastic modelling of fruit and foliage, beside its Pergamene prototype (Pl. XXII, 1) to realise how far the naturalistic rendering of plant-forms had travelled since Hellenistic times. A second pilaster from the same tomb is of somewhat coarser workmanship. It tapers slightly towards the top and is carved on all four faces, on the back and sides with floral motifs and on the front with a loosely coiled, single, vertical vine-scroll. Small birds peck at the grapes, and in the foliage stand two vintaging figures, a putto and a Maenad; while at the foot squat a Pan and a Satyr, treading the

[74] See F. Castagnoli, *Bull. Com.* lxix, 1941, 59–69, a convincing interpretation of the much-discussed topographical panel as representing a series of Flavian monuments, in the construction of which the deceased had taken part.

[75] von Blanckenhagen, p. 105.

[76] Strong, ii, 379, fig. 226.

[77] Gusman, i, pl. 27. Photo: Anderson, Roma 1875b.

[78] Gusman, *loc. cit.*

[79] Benndorf and Schöne, p. 225, no. 350; von Blanckenhagen, 101, pl. xxxvi, 98. Photo: Anderson, Roma 24123.

grapes in a vat (Pl. XVI, 1).[80] The pilaster is of interest, not only for the stylistic treatment, in which, even more strikingly than in the previous example, the effect is achieved by the subtle gradation of relief and the harmony of pattern and background, but also for the subject-matter (pp. 23–6).

Some of the more important architectural fragments with peopled scrolls, the style of which betrays their kinship with that of Flavian scrolls of fixed date, may be briefly listed:

Rome, in the Basilica Aemilia. Two oblong panels, each decorated in high relief with a central acanthus-calyx flanked by a pair of whorls, from the centres of which emerge the protomai of two confronted beasts (lion and horse (?), hind (?) and panther). Gusman, i, pl. xii, i; Strong, i, 122, fig. 77. Photo: Vatican neg. xix.ii.2.

Rome, Villa Albani. Frieze-fragment, closely akin to the preceding example, showing two whorls of an acanthus-scroll with confronted beasts (hind (?) and lion) to the right of a fragmentary acanthus-calyx. von Blanckenhagen, pl. xxxiv, 94.

Rome, Lateran Museum (Sala ix, 440). Two fragments of acanthus-scroll frieze with animal-protomai, closely akin to the preceding two examples. The surviving border of one is the same as that of the Basilica Aemilia panels.

Naples, National Museum. Part of a horizontal frieze, much defaced, with leaf-entwined beasts leaping through the whorls of an acanthus-scroll and, between alternate pairs of whorls, hunting putti, of which scanty traces only remain. von Blanckenhagen, pl. xxix, 80. Ruesch's statement (*Guida illustrata del Museo Nazionale di Napoli*, 1911, p. 247, no. 1019), that it comes from Pompeii, is not otherwise supported and is probably mistaken; it can hardly be as early. Photo: former German Archaeological Institute in Rome, neg. 1936, 1911. Pl. VIII, 1.

Rome, in the atrium of S. Omobono, found in the adjoining excavations. Fragment of a monumental pilaster, with the protome of a lion emerging from the centre of a whorl, in high, moulded relief. Late Flavian.

Rome, in the atrium of S. Saba. Fragment of the angle block of a frieze, with the protome of a griffin in an acanthus-whorl on one face, and on the adjacent face the protomai of two bulls in whorls, flanking an acanthus-calyx. Probably Flavian. Photo: Moscioni, Rome 22107. Pl. XII, 1.

Rome, Vatican Museum (Museo Chiaramonti). Horizontal frieze with two panthers springing through acanthus-spirals on either side of a vase. Perhaps Flavian. W. Amelung, *Die Sculpturen des vaticanischen Museums*, i. 3, 1903, p. 650, no. 513 b, pl. 69. Photo Anderson, Roma 23923.

Milan, Castello Sforzesco. Horizontal frieze with putto on left, seated to left astride the stem of an acanthus-scroll, while on the right a beast springs towards the right through a whorl. Probably Flavian. Former German Arch. Inst. neg. 1930, 709.

4. *The Second Century in Rome and Italy.*

The fashion for peopled scrolls as a theme for architectural sculpture did not long survive the death of the last of the Flavian Emperors. Round about the turn of the century, or very shortly afterwards, the motif itself and, for a time, something of the

[80] Benndorf and Schöne, pp. 226–7, no. 353.

vigorous, plastic style in which it had been rendered were relegated to the sphere of minor relief-sculpture and of the other minor arts; and there it seems to have remained, in Rome and Italy, until the 'Flavian Renaissance' under Septimius Severus and Caracalla.

A series of funerary altars, ranging from late Flavian to Hadrianic times, reproduces in miniature the heraldic scheme of the Basilica Aemilia panels (p. 15). Between the capitals of the two pilasters, which flank the inscribed faces of these altars, runs a narrow horizontal frieze of acanthus-scroll: the central feature of most is a calyx of leaves, from which spring two or four whorls containing full-length figures of leaping beasts or animal protomai in their terminal flowers. Such are two almost identically decorated altars in the Terme Museum, which come from the tomb of the Licinii on the Via Salaria, the one to C. Calpurnius Piso Crassus Frugi Licinianus and the other to C. Calpurnius Crassus Frugi Licinianus, consul suffectus towards the end of the first century and put to death by Hadrian (Pl. XIV, 2, 3);[81] the altars of Cossutia Prima[82] and of Agria Agatha[83] in the British Museum; that of Julia Aufidena Capitolina in the Vatican (Museo Chiaramonti);[84] and an altar in the Uffizi Gallery at Florence.[84a] The altar of P. Junius Hornumida in the Vatican (Galleria delle Statue) has the protomai of animals and putti;[85] while that of Plaetoria Antiochis, also in the Galleria delle Statue, has two three-quarter-length figures of putti emerging from the centres of the flowers and holding up between them, in a shell, the bust of the deceased, who wears a distinctively Flavian hair-style.[86]

In spite of their small scale and undistinguished workmanship, these altar-scrolls show something of the plasticity, naturalism, and spacial effects of the larger Flavian scrolls. But in other minor sculptures of Trajanic and Hadrianic times these qualities tend to disappear. The scrolls are stylised and attentuated; and despite the careful grading of their relief and the skill often lavished on their details, they seem to exist less for their own sakes than as patterns to adorn the field over which they were spaced. The change is illustrated by an early second-century sarcophagus in the Vatican (Galleria Lapidaria), the front of which bears a symmetrically disposed design. On either side of two superimposed acanthus-calices, is a pair of griffins, whose tails develop into two tiers of spreading acanthus-scroll, from the upper whorls of which spring putti and from the lower animal-protomai.[87] The putti, now incomplete, appear to have been aiming spears at the beasts beneath them (Pl. VII, 2). The general scheme of composition recalls that of the large Lateran frieze-fragments from Trajan's forum; and the piece may well be of Trajanic date.

Four fragments of a small frieze of blackish marble, one in the Terme Museum and three in the magazines of the Vatican,[88] continue the story of peopled scrolls into the

[81] W. Altmann, *Die römischen Grabaltäre der Kaiserzeit*, 1905, p. 40, no. 4, fig. 26; pp. 42–3, no. 9, fig. 30. Inv. nos. 78165, 78166.

[82] Inv. no. 2364; *British Museum Marbles*, v, 1826, pl. v. 1–3.

[83] *Catal. of Sculpture in the British Museum*, iii, 1904, 341–2, fig. 52.

[84] W. Amelung, *Die Sculpturen des vaticanischen Museums*, i, 4, 1903, p. 639, no. 497a, pl. lxviii; Altmann, *op. cit.*, p. 146; no. 163.

[84a] Former German Arch. Inst. neg. 1933, 1426.

[85] Altmann, *op. cit.*, p. 147, no. 168, fig. 120; Amelung, *op. cit.*, ii, 3, 1908, p. 426, no. 356a.

[86] Altmann, *op. cit.*, p. 164, no. 206, fig. 133; Amelung, *op. cit.* ii, 3, 1908, p. 420, no. 253a, pl. xlvi.

[87] Amelung, *op. cit.*, i, 2, 1903, p. 256, no. 126, pl. xxvi; Gusman, i, pl. liv; J. M. C. Toynbee, *The Hadrianic School*, 1934, pl. xlviii, 3.

[88] R. Paribeni, *Boll. d'arte*, 1914, 279–83, fig. 3; R. Paribeni, *Le Terme di Diocleziano e il Museo Nazionale Romano*, 1932, p. 266, no. 833; G. Kaschnitz-Weinberg, *Sculture del magazzino del Museo Vaticano*, 1937, pp. 193–4, nos. 429–31, pl. lxxvi. Alinari, Roma 38254.

Hadrianic age. They are believed to have come from Hadrian's villa at Tibur; and indeed their material, and the style, execution, and content of their sculptured decoration are all distinctively characteristic of his time. The main frieze is divided into rectangular panels, some undecorated, others carved with mythological figures, cult-objects, and rustic scenes, and is framed above by a narrow, horizontal border, in which runs, like a twisted ribbon, a very much conventionalised acanthus-scroll, with narrow leaves tightly sheathing its stem. Protomai of putti burst from the open flowers in the upper twists of the scroll, and of animals from the flowers in the twists below: the putti, equipped with spears and quivers, are hunting the beasts (Pl. XIV, 4). The interest is concentrated on the animal and human figures. The scroll has little life of its own: the flowers, while plastic and varied in their modelling, have but a slight organic connexion with their parent stem. A very similar relief in the same marble, once in the Lansdowne Collection, was found in Hadrian's villa in 1769.[89] It terminates at either end in a vertical design, at the top and bottom of which are two half-figures, emerging from acanthus cups, and between them two complete figures, standing in spirals. In these Hadrianic sculptures figured panels and ornamental borders are equally classical in style.

Second-century floor-mosaics in Rome and Italy carry on the motif. A pavement from Tor Marancia in the Vatican has a floral scroll with four medallions in its corners, each containing the figure of a naked dancer.[90] Similar medallions frame busts of the Seasons, cupped in acanthus-flowers, on a pavement from S. Trinità dei Pellegrini in Rome.[91] A mosaic from a tomb on the Via Portuensis bears a widely spaced vine with vintaging putti in the whorls,[92] a precursor of the close-set, all-over vine-scrolls of later times (pp. 23–6). The tomb of the Valerii on the Via Latina, dated by its brick-stamps of A.D. 159, contains a good example of peopled scrolls in Antonine stucco-work. The lunettes on the end-walls beneath the barrel-vault hold symmetrical and widely spaced arabesques in which several familiar variants are combined—foliate-tailed griffins, protomai of beasts emerging from terminal flowers, and human figures rising from calyces and clutching the stems, or seated, poised on tendrils (Pl. VI, 2).[93] The deliberate symbolic intent of this last example is particularly clear; and it is interesting to note that in spirit and in a number of details it lies far closer to the late Hellenistic originals than the great majority of the intervening scrolls, particularly the monumental scrolls of the Flavian period. It would suggest that, while monumental usage undoubtedly played an important, and at times a decisive, part in the development of these motifs, the minor arts continued to provide an important element of continuity, one, moreover, in which funerary symbolism found a natural outlet. Striking evidence of this association of funerary symbolism with late Hellenistic and early Imperial works of minor art is to be seen on a silver cup from Herculaneum in the Naples Museum, on which an acanthus-rinceau contains Homer, carried to heaven on the back of an eagle, in the centre, with personifications of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* seated on tendrils on either side.[93a]

[89] A. Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain*, 1882, 459, no. 76; R. Paribeni, *Boll. d'Arte*, 1914, 283, fig. 4; *Auction Catal. of Ancient Marbles in the Lansdowne Collection*, March 5, 1930, p. 48, no. 69.

[90] *MAAR*, xiii, 1936, pl. xxxix. 4.

[91] *Ibid.*, pl. xxxix. 3.

[92] *Ibid.*, pl. xxxix. 1.

[93] Gusman, i, pl. 1; *MAAR*, iv, 1924, pls. xx and xxi.

[93a] F. Cumont, *Études Syriennes*, 1917, p. 78, fig. 32; *Lux Perpetua*, 1949, p. 295, fig. 7; S. Reinach, *Répertoire de reliefs*, iii, 1912, p. 76; Ruesch, *Guida illustrata del Museo Nazionale di Napoli*, 1911, no. 1879.

A pair of monumental pilasters in the church of S. Giovanni Maggiore at Naples dates probably from the mid-second century. Its associations, however, would seem to lie with the contemporary work of Asia Minor rather than of Italy, and it is accordingly described below in Section 9 (p. 35).

5. *The Severan Age in Rome and Italy.*

The immediate occasion for the reinstatement of the peopled scroll as a decoratif motif in monumental architecture was the decision of Septimius Severus to restore and to extend the Domus Palatina. It is conspicuously absent from the Severan arch in the Forum Romanum, completed in A.D. 203, an absence that is the more striking in as much as the peopled scroll is one of the main themes on the contemporary arch at Lepcis Magna (p. 37). On the Palatine, however, it was natural that the Severan restorers should have copied a motif that had been so liberally and successfully employed by their predecessors, one, moreover, that could so well be adapted to the demands of contemporary taste; and from the Palatine it was carried to the new Severan complex, the baths of Caracalla, where, curiously enough, it was used in a form which approximates far more closely to the Flavian originals than do the majority of the surviving Severan examples on the Palatine.

The main surviving remains of this 'Flavian Renaissance', from both sites, have been listed, illustrated, and discussed by von Blanckenhagen.[94] His analysis of their stylistic features, and of the interaction within this group of earlier, first-century influences and of new, contemporary principles, makes detailed discussion here superfluous. Broadly speaking, the Flavian taste for vigorous, three-dimensional modelling and for ornament which, however rich, never loses interest in the individual constituent elements, may be contrasted with the contemporary tendency to rely on broad, over-all effects, in which the contrast of the patterned surface with the deeply undercut, shadowed ground plays a predominant part. These conflicting tendencies, clearly distinguishable on the other Severan monuments of Rome,[95] are well exemplified in the contemporary peopled scrolls from the Palatine and from the baths of Caracalla. From the Palatine von Blanckenhagen distinguishes the fragments of three separate friezes, each with a different variant of the peopled scroll: (*a*) a foliate-skirted nymph flanked by griffins and candelabra; (*b*) a foliate-skirted putto and an animal leaping through a whorl; and (*c*) a hunting-scroll with full-length putti standing between the whorls and animal-protomai emerging from the flowers (Pl. X, 1).[96] To these may be added a fragment of yet another frieze, portraying the upper part of a hunting (?) putto within a whorl of coarsely ribbed and veined acanthus-foliage.[97] Of the friezes in the baths of Caracalla, with beasts loosely entwined in the whorls and chivvied by putti standing between, three fragments remain *in situ*: (*a*) a length complete with mouldings above and below; (*b*) the well-known running boar; and (*c*) a mutilated, head-less beast.[98] Other

[94] von Blanckenhagen, pp. 67–8, 90–9.

[95] See notably von Blanckenhagen's analysis of the arch of the Argentarii, pp. 90–2. The influence of Flavian monuments on the arch in the Forum Romanum is less pronounced, but is attested by such features as the rings between the dentils of the cornice flanking the central passage-way; see also von Blanckenhagen, pp. 92–3.

[96] (*a*) *Ibid.*, pl. xxxii, 89, from the Aula Regia, now in Naples Museum; (*b*) *ibid.*, pl. xxxiii, 91, *in situ*; (*c*) *ibid.*, pl. xxxiv, 92, *in situ*; also two smaller fragments in the Villa Mills.

[97] *In situ.*

[98] (*a*) *Ibid.*, pl. xxxv, 95; cf. the stylistically similar fragments in the Vatican Museums (Museo Chiaramonti), with putti standing between the whorls and animal-protomai emerging from the terminal flowers, W.

surviving fragments are: (*d*) in the Terme Museum, much mutilated; (*e*) in the Lateran, three fragments; (*f*) walled into the Torre Colonna; and (*g*) two more substantial lengths in the cloister of the SS. Quattro Coronati.[99]

The stylistic diversity displayed is considerable. The fragments from the baths of Caracalla have, superficially at any rate, a strongly Flavian look, while those from the Palatine could never be taken for anything but third-century work; and even within the latter group some, which copy closely Flavian models (e.g. the Severan entablature-blocks from the Aula Regia, which are directly modelled on the 'Tropaea Farnese', described above, p. 12),[100] achieve something of the plastic modelling of the originals, while others (e.g. the small hunting-scroll frieze with putti and protomai of beasts, von Blanckenhagen, p. 96, pl. xxxiv, 92), no less directly copying the substance of such Flavian originals as the Naples frieze (p. 15), do so in a strictly contemporary, black-and-white, lace-work technique. The comparison between this hunting frieze from the Palatine and the equivalent frieze from the baths of Caracalla (Pl. IX, 1)[101] illustrates vividly the range and diversity of the Severan stylistic repertory.

It is a diversity which confronts the student in other fields of Severan official art. Hieratic frontality, conscious denaturalisation, panoramic pictorial effects, and straightforward classical naturalism, all find their place on the contemporary historical reliefs and mythological sarcophagi, not only of Rome itself but in provincial Africa too, on the Severan arch at Lepcis Magna, most startingly combined within the limits of a single monument. The peopled scrolls of this, and of the related Tripolitanian buildings, are discussed below (pp. 37–9). In the present context it is sufficient to note that, while the Severan sculpture of Tripolitania displays a similar diversity of detailed treatment, its main stylistic affinity throughout is with the Roman scrolls of the new style, the more progressive of the two contrasted styles represented in the Severan remains from the Palatine. With the latter may be compared a number of architectural fragments of uncertain provenience within Rome and Italy, and of minor reliefs of kindred style, some of which are discussed in the following paragraphs. These carry us far beyond the limits of the 'Flavian Renaissance' proper, based on the deliberate revival of motifs drawn from Flavian buildings extant in Rome: indeed, they betray an appreciation of the decorative possibilities of the peopled scroll so decided and, in some respects, so novel, that it can hardly have taken place except under the impact of some such external stimulus as that which provoked the great efflorescence of animated scrolls in Severan Lepcis.

In the church of S. Lorenzo-fuori-le-Mura is preserved a fine series of re-used architectural fragments carved with floral scrolls of a wide variety of dates and styles. These now constitute the entablature of the lower of the two orders on either side of the presbytery, the body, that is, of the earliest surviving part of the present church.[102] The majority of these fragments bear simple, horizontal acanthus-scrolls drawn from three separate monuments of first- or second-century date, while those of the third inter-

Amelung, *Die Sculpturen des vaticanischen Museums*, i, 4, 1903, p. 629, nos. 487a and c, pl. lxvi; (*b*) Gusman, iii, pl. clxxvi, 2; Strong, ii, 309, fig. 187; photo, Moscioni, Roma 2992; (*c*) unpublished.

[99] (*d*) Unpublished; (*e*) Benndorf and Schöne, p. 198, nos. 314–6; (*f*) photo, ex-German Arch. Inst. 31. 1678; (*g*) A. Munoz, *Il restauro della chiesa e del chiostro dei SS. Quattro Coronati*, 1914, 127–30, figs. 169 and 170.

[100] von Blanckenhagen, pl. xxxii, 88.

[101] von Blanckenhagen, pl. xxxv, 95.

[102] For a general view of these entablatures see photo, Alinari, Roma 5862.

columniation from the west on either side are of late third-century workmanship (p. 23). Those of the second intercolumniation consist of a pair of up-ended pilasters, rectangular in section and carved on two adjacent faces to serve as the angle-pilasters of an arch or the jambs of a doorway (Pl. XVII). On the narrower face of each pilaster is a vertical acanthus scroll, with full-length figures of putti and protomai of beasts issuing, alternately to right and to left, from the flower-centres. On the broader face is a similar scroll with protomai of beasts only. The scrolls are single; but the tendrils thrown off to right and left of the main stem curl into almost complete circles, giving the impression of medallions round the terminal flowers and figures. The figures of both putti and animals are in high relief and generously modelled, particularly on the narrower of the two faces. The scrolls themselves, on the other hand, are somewhat summarily executed, with deeply undercut leaves and stems of which the surfaces are flattened out parallel to the background, so as to produce a uniform, two-dimensional effect. Every spandrel between the spirals is occupied by a bird or minute beast, with the result that the entire field on each face is covered by a fret-work of design. The two pilasters in the church of S. Giovanni Maggiore at Naples (p. 18), of the same general form and similarly ornamented, are almost certainly half-a-century earlier in date. They are described below (p. 35). The next-of-kin to the S. Lorenzo pilasters are to be found in the Severan Basilica at Lepcis Magna.

Two fragments of a pair of vertical pilasters in the Lateran cannot, despite the report of their discovery in Trajan's forum, be pre-Severan in date.[103] The set-out of their designs is, indeed, very different from that of the designs on any of the Severan fragments so far discussed. The thick-set grape-vines which climb them do not form themselves into well-defined, running scrolls, with regular whorls or medallions, but smother every inch of the surface with an all-over, spreading pattern, which deliberately obscures the formal framework. The exuberance of the scheme, the delicate veining and indenting of the leaves, and the careful modelling of the stems give an illusion of naturalism, until it is observed that almost every leaf and every length of stem is identical with its fellows and that the whole surface of the foliage is completely flat. The effect is, in fact, essentially that of the Liber Pater pilasters in the Severan basilica at Lepcis (p. 38), an effect more like that of ivory-carving than of sculpture proper, produced by deep undercutting and by working almost entirely in two parallel planes. The lower end of one of the pilaster-faces is preserved and shows the large chalice from which the vine springs. The surface of this is likewise covered all over with vine- and ivy-sprays, rendered in the same flat, two-plane, black-and-white technique. On both panels the vines are alive with miniature inhabitants: birds perching on the tendrils, mother-birds at their nests, a hare busily feeding on grapes piled in a wicker basket, a snail, and a mongoose-like creature. One panel contains a ladder set diagonally across the vine; but the two putti who were mounted upon it to harvest the grapes have been deliberately defaced. Another putto on the companion panel has suffered the same fate (Pl. XV).

Very similar in character to the Lateran vine-pilasters are five vertical panels in the Museo Petriano, which once served as tomb-decorations in the Grotte Vaticane

[103] Benndorf and Schöne, pp. 199–200, nos. 320, 320a; Gusman, iii, pl. cxxi; Squarciapino, pl. L b. Photo: Anderson, Roma 24122.

(Pl. XVIII).[104] One is considerably broader than the rest, and on it the main stems divide and re-unite to form five major oval medallions, with four pairs of subsidiary whorls springing outwards at the points of junction. The medallions contain alternate figures and foliage: (from bottom to top) Apollo with griffin and tripod; sprays of vine and ivy; the bust of Tellus; sprays of quince and olive; Apollo and Marsyas. In the subsidiary whorls half-length figures rise from the flower-centres: above the Delphic Apollo-medallion, winged griffins; above and below the Tellus-medallion, the Four Seasons; below the Apollo- and Marsyas-medallion, Tragedy and Comedy. On this panel too the spandrels are almost all peopled with tiny figures. The human figures, if slightly heavy, are exuberantly modelled; but the foliage-medallions are purely two-dimensional. It is instructive to compare them with the truly naturalistic, three-dimensional sprays of quince and citron on the well-known Flavian panel in the Lateran.[105] On each of the narrower panels a single acanthus-scroll springs from an acanthus-calyx to form nine quasi-medallions, after the manner of the S. Lorenzo pilasters (p. 20). From the central flower of every other whorl there steps a putto, aiming with spear or bow at the animal-protome in the heart of the flower in the whorl below him; and every alternate spandrel is peopled with the tiny figures of putti, beasts, birds, or insects, all in gay and lively movement. Hunters and victims alike are varied and vigorous, and it is only when examined in detail that some of the figures, notably the pair of putti, upholding a wreath, at the head of each of the scrolls, betray a certain heaviness of countenance and clumsiness of limb. A revealing lapse on the part of the artist is the rendering of two of the figures as if for a horizontal instead of a vertical scroll. For all the plasticity and freshness of the figures, both the technique and the style and composition of these thickly-populated scrolls proclaim their Severan date.[106]

A large, early third-century sarcophagus with rounded ends, from the tomb of Caecilia Metella, now in the courtyard of the Palazzo Farnese, shows the strongly modelled heads and necks of two animals, a horse and a hind (?), protruding from the curved striations on its front.[107] The lid is carved along the front and round the sides with freely spreading acanthus-scrolls, which fill the spaces above and below a series of heavy, deeply grooved, horizontally curving bands, each terminating at either end in a volute. The upper scrolls are peopled with beasts of two sizes, the foreparts of the larger of which emerge from the hearts of flowers, while the smaller are shown in full. The larger animals include a lion and a bull, which appear twice over, confronting one another, on the front of the lid: others are stags and hounds, the latter dashing out of ambush in pursuit of tiny hinds and hares. The creatures are vigorous and life-like in their movements; but the technique is even flatter and more rigidly confined to two parallel planes than on the Museo Petriano panels. The crowded composition produces the characteristically Severan black-and-white, lace-like, all-over effect (Pl. XXI, 1).

Apart from the Naples pilasters mentioned above, two architectural fragments

[104] H. Brunn, *Kleine Schriften*, i, 1898, 64–70; Gusman, ii, pls. xciii, xciv; Photos: Alinari, Roma 26318, 26319, 26320; Anderson, Roma 20325, 20515; Vatican, neg. xv.2.27.

[105] Gusman, i, pl. xli; Strong, i, 120, fig. 75; von Blanckenhagen, pl. xxxvi, 97.

[106] Contrast Strong, ii, 305: 'sarebbe tuttavia difficile suggerire una data esatta per questo lavoro. La tecnica sembra infatti accennare al terzo secolo, mentre lo stile e la composizione ci richiamano a fasi più antiche e presentano elementi familiari già all'arte flavia e traianea'. For the plastic treatment of the figures cf. the Hercules capital in the Baths of Caracalla (Gusman, i, pl. xliii, Strong, ii, 307, fig. 185).

[107] Gusman, i, pl. xl.

assignable on stylistic grounds to the Severan age, must suffice to illustrate the character of contemporary sculptured scrolls in Italy outside Rome. A frieze, serving as the lintel of one of the doors of the Cathedral at Sessa Aurunca, and believed to come from the ancient theatre, shows a couple of confronted panthers springing through the tendrils of a flat, very black-and-white vine-scroll.[108] The second fragment, part of a frieze from the Via Sacra at Aquileia, bears a winged griffin terminating in an acanthus-whorl, executed in a flat, light-on-dark technique, rather summary in treatment but with carefully veined and indented leaves. A circular mosaic pavement, from the baths installed during the early third century in the 'Seven Sages' complex at Ostia, carries a black-and-white *venatio* scene, in which beasts and hunters move in and out through an all-over net-work of tenuous acanthus-scrolls.[109] Allowing for the difference in medium, its principles of designs are the same as those of contemporary sculpture.

6. *The Late Classical Age in Rome and Italy.*

The next important land-mark in the history of the peopled scroll in Rome is the reign of Aurelian, whose restoration after a fire of a part of the baths of Caracalla[110] occasioned a revival of earlier motifs, similar to that which had resulted from the restoration of the Domus Palatina by Septimius Severus half a century earlier. A number of sculptured architectural fragments, discovered in 1907 under the church of S. Silvestro in Capite and now in the Terme Museum, are generally accepted as belonging to Aurelian's temple of the Sun.[111] The decorators of this temple were doubtless drawn from the same workshop as those employed to restore the baths; and the fragments of two horizontal friezes with peopled scrolls from the S. Silvestro find reproduce both the subject-matter, and not a little of the style and spirit, of their Flavian and Severan counterparts. Of these friezes, the more Severan in style bears a series of acanthus-scrolls springing from male masks with foliate hair and beards, a second-century motif which was reproduced on both the Severan arches in Rome and, no doubt, on some vanished element of the baths of Caracalla also. In the whorls of the scroll half-length figures of putti emerge from flowers and hurl stones at the flower-cupped protomai of beasts (Pl. XI, 3).[112] The treatment of the foliage differs little from that of Severan work; but the manner in which the hair and face of the extant putto are pock-marked with small drill-holes betrays the later date of the piece. A horizontal frieze-fragment of unrecorded provenience in the magazines of the Terme Museum, with the half-figure of a putto hurling a stone at the flower-cupped protome of a boar, resembles the S. Silvestro fragment so closely in style and technique that it may well be from the same frieze (Pl. XI, 2). The second frieze, of which one large and one small fragment survive, is by a different hand. Putti armed with spear and shield wade knee-deep in the acanthus and attack animals, which spring from clusters of leaves or from the hearts of

[108] Brought to our notice by dott. E. Paribeni.

[109] G. Calza, *Ostia: nuovi scavi* (*Itinerari dei Musei e Monumenti d'Italia*, no. 1a), Rome, 1947, p. 31; G. Calza, *Ostia*, Ed. 2 (*Itinerari dei Musei e Monumenti d'Italia*, no. 1), Rome, 1949, p. 83.

[110] *M.G.H.: Chron. min.* i, 148: *Porticus thermarum Antoniniarum arserunt et fabricatum est.*

[111] H. Kähler, 'Zum Sonnentempel Aurelians', *Röm. Mitt.*, lii, 1937, 94–105. The ultimate derivation of these fragments, through Severan intermediaries, from Flavian prototypes is confirmed by the use of such distinctive elements as the pair of rings between the dentils of the cornice (*v. supra*, p. 13, n. 67).

[112] Inv. no. 80101. F. Toebelmann, *Römische Gebälke*, 1923, iii, fig. 86; Kähler, *op. cit.*, figs. 4, 7, 8, 11. Photos: Former Germ. Arch. Inst. negs. 30.500, 37.260 and 261.

flowers (Pl. XI, 1). In contrast to the gaiety of the figures, the foliage is lank and drooping, and the calyx, from which the scrolls branch, stiff and stylised.[113]

The further history of the motif in the late third and early fourth centuries is one of steadily decreasing vitality and technical competence. Four examples will serve to illustrate this degeneration. The first is a horizontal frieze-fragment from the exedra which Constantine added to the basilica of Maxentius (Pl. IX, 3);[114] the second, the fragment of a horizontal frieze now in the substructures of the ex-Villa Mills on the Palatine, showing the protome of a frontal putto rising from the centre of a flower and flanked by a dog (?) and an ostrich-like bird (Pl. X, 2);[114a] the third, a pair of square bases, now at the entrance to the Vatican Library, carved with foliate-skirted putti tending candelabra and putti confronting beasts which stand in acanthus-spirals;[115] and the fourth a pair of architraves re-used in the presbytery of S. Lorenzo-fuori-le-Mura (p. 19), on each of which acanthus-scrolls containing the protomai of hunting putti and beasts unroll from a central, foliate-skirted figure: the relief is shallow and the ornament crowded and ineffective, and the marked difference between the two blocks is symptomatic of the hesitancy of a dying tradition.

For all their awkwardness and flatness, however, the examples cited in the previous paragraph are still within the realm of sculpture in the classical sense. But when we turn from them to the contemporary scroll surrounding the door of Diocletian's tomb, now the Cathedral at Spalato (*c.* A.D. 305),[116] we realise that its final disruption was at hand. The acanthus-rinceaux, springing from a central chalice, contain the familiar foreparts of animals and a mask in the volutes. But the technique is that of black-and-white drawing rather than of stone-carving. There is practically no modelling, the leaves are completely stylised, and the flowers cupping the beasts have become mere frills round holes, against the dark interiors of which the protomai stand out in flat, white relief. The final stage of degeneration in the sculptured scrolls of Italy can be seen in the vertical pilaster-faces formerly re-used to frame the top of the inscriptions on the tombs of Popes Leo I, II, III, and IV and Gregory III. The putti have become lifeless puppets and the half-beasts are grotesque, wooden creatures plastered on to flat, plate-like flowers within the hard frills which do duty for acanthus-whorls (Pl. XIX, 3).[117]

7. *The formal vine-scroll with vintaging putti in Rome and Italy.*

The subject of the Dionysiac vintage is one of the commonplaces of classical art of all periods. Its composition into formal, scroll-work patterns is already foreshadowed on such objects as the late Hellenistic stele from Pergamon, described above (p. 8, Pl. XXII, 1);[117a] but it was not until a relatively mature phase of Roman art that foliage and figures were fully integrated to the requirements of a formal pattern, whether in the shape of a linear scroll suitable for the decoration of architectural members or, in accord-

[113] Inv. no. 115751. Kähler, *op. cit.* fig. 6.

[114] Toebelmann, *op. cit.*, 124–5, fig. 97; Kähler, *op. cit.*, fig. 12; H. P. L'Orange and A. von Gerkan, *Der spätantik Bildschmuck des Konstantinsbogens*, 1939, figs. 50, 51.

[114a] The over-loading of ornament on the architrave suggests a late third- or early fourth-century date. For work by Maxentius on the Palatine—'thermas in Palatio fecit'—see *M.G.H.: Chron. Min.* i, 148.

[115] Amelung, *op. cit.*, i, 2, 1903, p. 183, no. 23; p. 226, no. 82; i, 3, 1903, p. 510, no. 297a, pl. liii; i, 4, 1903, p. 654, no. 516 Ca, pl. lxix. Photos: Anderson, Roma 23923; Vatican neg. 1.3.23.

[116] Peirce and Tyler, i, pl. xi, a and b.

[117] Photos: Anderson, Roma 20514, 30516.

[117a] An early-Imperial example is to be seen on a painted panel of first-century A.D. date in the Louvre (P 71), which shows two vertical vine-branches interlocking, with vintaging putti perched upon them.

ance with a well-marked tendency in late Roman art, developed over a broad surface as a continuous, all-over pattern. Important evidence for the east-Mediterranean origin of such compositions is furnished by the silver goblet with gilt relief-ornament from Hermoupolis, now in the Graeco-Roman Museum at Alexandria.[118] The figures, drawn from the familiar Dionysiac repertory, are gay and varied, but each has its place within the carefully composed framework of the formal vine-scroll. The 'temple of Bacchus' at Baalbek (p. 33) and the vine-scroll pilasters at Lepcis Magna (the work of Carian craftsmen (p. 37 f.) show that, in the form of linear medallion-scrolls, the motif was well established in the architectural sculpture of the eastern Mediterranean by the end of the second century A.D., while single linear scrolls with birds (but without vintaging putti) are found at Palmyra over a century earlier (p. 34). In Rome and Italy, on the other hand, all-over scrolls are the more common form. The majority are of third- or fourth-century date and form a comparatively homogeneous series, which can conveniently be considered together.

Some of the Italian examples of the all-over, inhabited vine-scroll are identifiable as actual imports from the East. Such is the well-known sarcophagus in the porch of S. Lorenzo-fuori-le-Mura, identified by Rodenwaldt as an Attic piece of early third-century date, on the score of its striking analogies with contemporary sarcophagi in Athens.[119] Such again is the colossal porphyry sarcophagus of Constantia from Santa Costanza, now in the Vatican, Egyptian work of the time of Constantine.[120] Among the earliest works which may have been made locally are the early third-century vine-scroll pilasters in the Lateran (p. 20). To the same date probably belongs a fragment of a marble pilaster in the Palazzo dei Conservatori, found near the Porta Maggiore, carved as if bound with a spiral band of vine-scroll-with-putti over a basis of spiral fluting. The date is confirmed by the character of the foliage, by the careful modelling and proportions of the putti and by the elegant elongation of the figures of Dionysos and the two Maenads on the associated capital, which find their counterpart on contemporary Roman sarcophagi.[121] On Italian sarcophagi themselves an interesting example is to be seen on a narrow pilaster, adorned with Dionysiac figures in a vertical vine-scroll, at the extreme left of the front of the Dionysos and Adriadne sarcophagus, now in Baltimore, dating from *c.* A.D. 200.[121a] Its nearest affinities are with the vine-scroll pilasters on the Severan arch at Lepcis Magna (p. 37).

It was with the development of Christian art, however, in the late third century and in the Constantinian age, that the scroll with vintaging putti firmly established itself within the sculptural repertory of Rome. Both the vintage-scroll and the more naturalis-

[118] A. Adriani, *Le gobelet en argent des amours vendangeurs du Musée d'Alexandrie*, 1939. Contrast such vintage-scenes as that on the glass 'Blue Vase' at Naples (*ibid.*, 14, fig. 7), in which the putti are outside the schematized scrolls; or the many classical vintage-scenes, which show real vines, growing naturalistically, instead of spreading in lattice-work scrolls across the entire field.

[119] G. Rodenwaldt (*JDAI*, xlv, 1930, 116–189, pls. v–vii) refutes the suggestion of F. H. Taylor (*Art Bulletin*, x, 1927, 47–59) that the figured panels are a fifteenth-century re-working of a classical strigil-sarcophagus.

[120] G. Lippold, *Die Sculpturen des vaticanischen Museums*, iii, 165, no. 566; K. Michalowski, *Röm. Mitt.* xliii, 1928, 131–146; R. Delbrueck, *Antike Porphyrwerke*, 1932, 219, pl. 104; E. Sjöqvist and A. Westholm, *Skrifter utgivna av svenska Institutet i Rom*, iv, 1935, 1–46. For a derivative fragment, of Roman workmanship, walled into the former studio of Canova, in via Canova, see *Röm. Mitt.* xliii, 1928, 143, fig. 3.

[121] *Bull. Com.* vi, 1878, 199 ff., pl. xvi; H. Stuart Jones, *Catal. of the Sculptures of the Palazzo dei Conservatori*, 1926, p. 93, no. 29a (column), p. 117, no. 70 (capital), pl. xli; Gusman iii, pl. 122. For similarly elongated figures on sarcophagi see Strong, ii, 324, fig. 198; K. Lehmann-Hartleben and E. C. Olsen, *Dionysiac Sarcophagi in Baltimore*, 1942, fig. 9.

[121a] Lehmann-Hartleben and Olsen, *op. cit.* fig. 9.

tic representations of the vintage are constantly associated with figures or objects which belong specifically to the Dionysiac repertory; and of the pagan monuments so ornamented, those which served a funerary function certainly, and many others probably, had a definite religious significance, symbolising the Dionysiac paradise.[122] A notable recent find within this category is a sarcophagus found at Vila Franca de Xira near Lisbon. It is shaped like a vine-press, with curved ends, and in the centre of the front is a medallion, displaying the bust of a girl with a mid-third-century coiffure: from a basket below the medallion two great vine-scrolls, peopled with putti, birds, and grape-baskets, spread like a net over the entire surface of the face and ends.[123] Christianity baptised the theme; and the vintaging putti were promoted, without change of guise, to the rank of cherubs gathering in the vintage of the Lord.[124] Such scenes are too familiar to need detailed discussion here. A few characteristic examples are enough to illustrate the formal range: still within the naturalistic tradition are two panels on one end of the sarcophagus of Junius Bassus;[125] at the other extreme, the fifth-century vault mosaic in the church of S. Prisca, near Capua Vetere, with its tight, symmetrical, all-over pattern of formal vine-scroll, chalices, and birds;[126] and, between the two, the vault-mosaic and destroyed, central floor-mosaic of Santa Costanza, with vine-scrolls more or less formally developed and enclosing scenes of the vintage, the former with putti also climbing here and there among the foliage.[127] Two less familiar examples, both in S. Ambrogio, Milan, may be taken to illustrate the late-classical development of the motif in sculpture. The first, a rectangular panel walled into the atrium of Aspertus, shows a naturalistic, all-over scroll with two vintaging putti in the branches and a third below, pursued by a cock (Pl. XIX, 1). It can hardly be later than the middle of the fourth century. The second, a frieze, re-used as the lintel of a door leading from the campanile to the nave, with putti in a very stylised spreading scroll, is much later work, of the fifth, possibly even of the sixth, century (Pl. XIX, 2).[128]

Spirally twisted columns, on which bands of spiral fluting alternate with bands of all-over vintage-scrolls, form a series apart and merit separate study. Here it is sufficient to note that the best-known group, now in St. Peter's and believed throughout the Middle Ages to have come from the Temple of Solomon, consists in fact of the nine survivors of twelve that were given to St. Peter's, in part by Constantine, who brought them *de Grecias*, in part by the Exarch Eutychius under Pope Gregory III (731–741).[129] Columns of normal shape with figured vine-scroll ornament are not uncommonly illustrated on sarcophagi in Rome, e.g. on the sarcophagus of Junius Bassus, flanking the two central scenes, on the Lateran sarcophagus no. 174 (Pl. XVI, 3), and on a fragmentary sarcophagus in the museum of S. Sebastiano.[130] It may well be that these too are

[122] See the recent study by K. Lehmann-Hartleben and E. C. Olsen of a group of Dionysiac sarcophagi found near the Porta Pia, now in Baltimore, *Dionysiac sarcophagi in Baltimore*, 1942.

[123] *AJA*, liii, 1949, 158, pl. xxvii, A.

[124] The easy passage of the theme from the old faith to the new is well illustrated by a late second- or early third-century pagan sarcophagus with a vineyard-scene, converted later to Christian use by the simple addition of a fresh inscription; from the Syrian Tripolis, now at Constantinople (Mendel, iii, pp. 408–412, no. 1169; *JDAI* xlv, 1930, 177–9, figs. 54–5).

[125] Most recently with full bibliography, F. Gerke, *Der Sarkophag des Iunius Bassus*, 1936, figs. 32 and 35.

[126] J. Wilpert, *Die römischen Mosaiken und Malereien der kirchlichen Bauten von IV–XIII Jahrhundert*, 1917, 50, pl. lxxv.

[127] *Ibid.*, 290, pl. vi; C. Cecchelli, *Architettura e Arti decorative*, ii, 1922, p. 15, fig. (the destroyed floor-mosaic).

[128] Photos: Zuecca, Milano, nos. 1612 and 1195 respectively, obtained through the kindness of Dr. N. De Grassi.

[129] *Liber Pontificalis*, ed. Duchesne, 38 and 194; *L'Arte*, i, 1898, 377–384.

[130] G. Wilpert, *I sarcofagi cristiani antichi*, i, 1929, pl. xiii (Junius Bassus); pp. 175–6, pl. cxxi, 4 (Lateran 174);

derivative from abroad. Figured vine-scroll columns, rare in Italy,[131] are common in Gaul (p. 28); and they are represented on at least one Gaulish Christian sarcophagus, which is probably of local provincial manufacture.[132]

As a motif in Christian art the peopled vine-scroll was by no means confined to sculpture and mosaics. Metal-work, ivory-carving, wood-carving, and fabrics are all represented. Here again it must be sufficient to refer to a few such well-known examples as the dome-shaped, silver casket and the flask from the Esquiline treasure,[133] the ivory throne of Maximian at Ravenna[134] and, outside Italy, the wooden door of the church of St. Barbara in Old Cairo.[135] Whether or not the two last-named represent a specifically Alexandrian tradition,[136] their connexion with the eastern Mediterranean is certain; and in general terms it seems clear that the strongly east-Roman bias of the motif was maintained down to the close of the classical age.[136a]

In conclusion it may be noted that, although the vine-scroll, with its strongly Christian connotations, is inevitably the form of peopled scroll most commonly represented in late antiquity both in Italy and in the provinces, the decadence and eclipse of the classical tradition of monumental sculpture did not by any means involve the abandonment of the peopled acanthus-scroll as an ornamental motif in other media. In Italy itself, the mosaics of Ravenna afford several outstanding examples;[137] and elsewhere they figure in such varied media as silver-work, wood-carving, and fabrics.[138]

8. *The Western and Northern Provinces.*

In Gaul, as in the other western and northern provinces of the Empire, the development of these motifs was mainly derivative. It does not by any means follow, however, that the source was in all cases Rome itself; and although the reciprocal influence of such provincial work upon the main stream of development in Italy and elsewhere was generally slight, except perhaps in late antiquity, the peopled scrolls of Gaul in particular are not without significance for the broader picture. This is well exemplified in what is probably the earliest surviving Gallic example, the external entablature of the north side of the *cavea* of the Augustan theatre at Arles. This includes an architrave of triglyphs

pp. 178–9, pl. cxlix (S. Sebastiano); Gerke, *op. cit.*, figs. 4–5, 13, 40–1; F. Gerke, *Christus in der spätantiken Plastik*, 1940, pl. lxi.

[131] A colonnette in the museum at Ostia is carved in high relief with putti vintaging among the foliage of a spirally wound vine.

[132] Wilpert, *op. cit.*, pl. cxlv, 1.

[133] O. M. Dalton, *British Museum, Catal. of Early Christian Antiquities*, 1901, pp. 64–7, nos. 305–6, pl. xix. See also two other silver vessels in the British Museum, a late third- or early fourth-century mirror from Bulgaria (H. B. Walters, *Catal. of Silver Plate*, 1921, p. 28, no. 106, pl. xv) and a fourth-century fluted silver bowl in the Mildenhall treasure; and the sixth-century (?) patera of Bishop Paternus at Leningrad (L. Matzulewitsch, *Byzantinische Antike*, 1929, pls. 26 and 27).

[134] C. Cecchelli, *La cattedra di Massimiano*, Rome, 1935–1944, 68–95, pls. i–xiii, with full bibliography; Peirce and Tyler, ii, pls. 3, 5, and 8. See also the ivory Dionysos-panels of the Aachen pulpit (Peirce and Tyler, ii, pls. 155 and 191; illustrated by Cecchelli, *op. cit.*, pls. xxxviii–xxxix, to be discussed in a projected second volume); and a fourth-century (?) ivory diptych at Trieste (P. Arndt and W. Amelung, *Photographische Einzelaufnahmen antiker Skulpturen*, 1893, 600).

[135] A. Patricolo and U. Monneret de Villard, *The Church of Sitt Barbara in Old Cairo*, 1922; for the date, *c.* A.D. 500, see E. Kitzinger, *Archaeologia*, lxxxvii, 1938, 212.

[136] Kitzinger, *op. cit.*, 210–5.

[136a] Among late metal-work examples of the peopled vine-scroll are: (1) a hemi-spherical silver bowl in the Berlin Antiquarium, on which Dionysiac figures stand, each within a loosely-formed medallion (Y. I. Smirnoff, *Argenterie Orientale*, 1909, pl. cxii); (2) a silver flagon from Persia in the British Museum, showing vintaging putti, a hare, birds etc., in a spreading vine (*ibid.*, pl. li).

[137] *E.g.* the lateral lunettes of the so-called tomb of Galla Placidia, and the presbytery vault of S. Vitale.

[138] *E.g.* two fourth-century fragments of silver vessels from the Traprain Law treasure, in Edinburgh Museum (A. O. Curle, *The Treasure of Traprain*, 1923, 44, fig. 22; pl. 23); a wooden panel in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum (Peirce and Tyler, i, pl. 169); fabrics (*ibid.* i, pl. 168, b; ii, pl. 75).

and metopes, carved with the forequarters of bulls and rosettes, and above it a running frieze of acanthus-scroll, with half-length figures of putti and protomai of beasts issuing from the whorls and, in the spandrels, putti and birds.[139] The use of triglyph and metope on an architrave is unusual; but there does not seen to be any valid reason, structural or stylistic, for ascribing the present arrangement to the Constantinian reconstruction of the theatre.[140] The incised lines, which emphasise the contours of the scroll and of the bulls in the metopes, find their counterpart on the more or less contemporary monument of the Julii at St. Rémy.[141] An even closer, and very suggestive, parallel, with the same scored contours, is the spreading acanthus-rinceau with animal-protomai, which adorns the tall silver tankard from the Hildesheim treasure, itself probably of Augustan date and Gaulish workmanship (Pl. IV, 1).[142] If an Augustan date be accepted for the *cavea*-entablature of the theatre at Arles, it affords an instance of the application to architectural sculpture of the running scroll with protomai at a date considerably earlier than any so far known in Rome. It is interesting to speculate whether this represents the spontaneous local application of a theme already current in the minor arts, or whether it was derived from established architectural practice and reached the Hellenised Provincia, independently of Italy, direct from some east-Mediterranean source. It should be noted in this connection that the Hildesheim tankard does not stand alone. The motif of the acanthus-scroll with animal-protomai figures twice elsewhere in the same treasure, on the rim of a flat dish (Pl. IV, 3),[143] and on the lower zone of a pair of cups with Dionysiac figures and theatrical masks.[144] The border of a third vessel, the Hercules bowl, consists of acanthus-scrolls, springing from the hindquarters of two pairs of confronted griffins and framing the figures of tiny beasts and birds.[145] Yet another vessel from the same treasure, a large crater with putti poised, fishing and spearing sea-creatures, among the whorls of an all-over scroll,[146] closely resembles a pair of cups from the Boscoreale treasure.[147] Whether or not the frieze of the theatre at Arles be derived from some such source, it is evident that this and similar motifs had, already by the early first century A.D., gained a wide currency in Gaul through the medium of metal-work, some of it imported and some of it probably of local manufacture.[148]

For the rest, the Gallic sculptural material is well covered by Espérandieu's monumental *Recueil général des bas-reliefs de la Gaule romaine*, and it must suffice in the present context to indicate a few salient features. Of the numerous architectural inhabited scrolls of Roman Gaul, none are *in situ* on dated monuments; and in view of their provincial workmanship attempts to date them by style alone are precarious, They range from such a seemingly early example as an acanthus-scroll frieze from Vaison-la-romaine, which figures a putto and small birds and beasts in the foliage and in the

[139] Espérandieu, i, 206; L. A. Constans, *Arles Antique*, 1921, 293–4.

[140] M. Jules Formigé, Inspecteur Général Honoraire des Monuments Historiques, writes: 'La frise du rinceau est prise dans le même bloc que les triglyphes et placée au dessus. La construction vue en coupe semble intacte et sans remaniment'.

[141] Espérandieu, i, 114; *Röm. Mitt.* lii, 1937, pls. iv–xiii.

[142] E. Pernice and F. Winter, *Der Hildesheimer Silberfund*, 1901, pls. xxxviii–xl. Photo: Giraudon 8367.

[143] *Ibid.*, pl. xxix. Photo: Giraudon 8650.

[144] *Ibid.*, pls. xiii–xvi.

[145] *Ibid.*, pl. iii. Photo: Giraudon 8641.

[146] *Ibid.*, pls. xxxii–xxxiii. Photo: Giraudon 8639.

[147] *Monuments et Mémoires: Fondation Piot*, v, 1897, pls. ix–x. Photo: Giraudon 4913.

[148] Another notable piece of imported metal-work (? Alexandrian) is the silver-inlaid bronze flagon from Gap, now in the museum at Lyon; on four of the vertical panels are formal vine-scrolls with vintaging putti; *Gazette Archéologique*, iii, 1877, 81, pls. viii–ix.

spandrels and might well be derived from an Italian Julio-Claudian model,[149] to a large and varied group of vine-scroll pilasters and columns, which may in some cases be as late as the fourth century A.D. Notable among the latter is the facade of the baths at Sens, the engaged half-columns of which were carved with an elaborate medallion vine-scroll with birds, beasts, and vintaging putti.[150] The relative frequency of such vine-scrolls, most of them with vintaging putti and some with other Dionysiac figures, is a striking feature of the Gallic series (see lists, *infra*). They include both the single scroll, vertical or horizontal, and the vertical medallion-scroll, with or without a central thyrsos or other axial feature. Many spring from an acanthus-calyx, and the figures from the stock classical repertory include a nude female figure rising knee-high from the calyx on a pilaster from Kindenheim, now in the museum at Speier.[151] With a single exception, at Périgueux,[152] the scroll with protomai of animals or parts of the human figure emerging from the whorls, is restricted to Narbonensis.

Outside the field of architectural sculpture, there is rather more variety. The funerary altar of M. Attius Paternus at Nîmes,[153] with animals springing through the whorls of a short horizontal acanthus-scroll above the inscription, is closely related to the Roman series (p. 16) and may well be an import, or the work of a travelling craftsman (Pl. XIV, 1). It is probably Flavian. A securely dated piece is an inscription to Julia Domna at Mainz, with birds in the loops of a vine-rinceau border.[154] A remarkable mosaic at Ste. Colombe, showing Lycurgus entangled in the centre of a great, all-over vine-scroll, together with other figures from the Dionysiac cycle, may probably also be dated to the early third century;[155] and the continued popularity of the peopled vine-scroll through late antiquity is attested on such subjects as a fourth-century Christian sarcophagus at St. Maximin in Provence, with putti in medallion-scrolls on the columns which flank the central scene,[156] and on three fifth-century sarcophagi of the Visigothic series, at Cahors, at Loudun and at Poitiers.[157]

The following list summarises the main motifs represented in the Gallic series illustrated by Espérandieu. References are by volume number and serial number:

Acanthus-scrolls with small beasts and birds or putti freely disposed among the foliage, or grouped in the spandrels:

Espérandieu, I. 208, 210, 264, 291, and 703; IV. 3288 and 3540; V. 3954 (medallion-scroll of mixed foliage springing from an acanthus-calyx); VI. 5019; VII. 5441; XI. 6865; XI. 7735.

Acanthus-scrolls with parts of human figures or protomai of beasts within the whorls:

Espérandieu, I. 206 (theatre at Arles, *v. supra*), 405 (lion-protome in whorl), 491 (also III, p. 422 and IX, p. 326, funerary altar to M. Attius Paternus, *v. supra*), 608 (half-length putti emerging from the centre of an acanthus-rosette), 664

Espérandieu, i, 291; J. Sautel, *Vaison dans l'antiquité*, iii, 1926, pl. lxiii. 5. Now in the Musée Calvet, Avignon.

[150] Espérandieu, iv, 2856.

[151] *Ibid.*, viii, 5961.

[152] *Ibid.*, ii, 1284.

[153] *Ibid.*, i, 491; iii, p. 422; ix, p. 326.

[154] *Ibid.*, x, 7338.

[155] *Inventaire des mosaïques de la Gaule*, i, 1, no. 236; D. Levi, *Antioch Mosaic Pavements*, i, 1947, 511, fig. 188.

[156] Wilpert, *op. cit.*, i, 1929, pl. cxlv. 1; E. Le Blant, *Les Sarcophages chrétiens de la Gaule*, 1886, pl. liv. 1.

[157] *Archaeologia*, lxxxvii, 1937, 97, note 3, nos. 35, 48, and 77; cf. (birds only) no. 31, pl. xxxi. 6 = E. Le Blant, *Les Sarcophages chrétiens de la Gaule*, 1886, pl. xxxiii, 1; Peirce and Tyler, ii, pl. xvii (b).

(male bust in whorl) and 761 (head of Attis in whorl); II. 1284 (animal-protomai in whorls). Except for the last item, at Périgueux, all are from Gallia Narbonensis.

Vine-scrolls with vintaging putti, birds, and animals:

(a) *Columns and half-columns:* Espérandieu I. 213 (medallion-scroll, pl. XVI, 4, from Arles); IV. 2856 (half-columns of facade on baths at Sens, *v. supra*); V. 3937 (figure of Dionysos) and 3985 (Maenad and putto); VI. 5033 (medallion-scroll); VIII. 5960 (medallion-scrolls, satyrs, and putti); IX. 7188 (medallion-scroll).

(b) *Friezes and pilasters:* Espérandieu I. 217 (figure of Silen); II, 1296 and 1451; IV. 3462–3; V. 4203 (frieze, of which the larger, central putto emerges knee-high from a pair of flowers) and 4226; VI. 4991 (sarcophagus front = *JDAI*, xlv 1930, 185, fig. 58), 5011 and 5097; VIII. 5961 (nude female figure rising knee-high from the acanthus at the foot of a medallion vine-scroll pilaster) and 6291 (free medallion-scroll with putti, goat and birds). Also fragment of a horizontal frieze at Narbonne, with a frontal Victory standing in a vine-scroll (former German Arch. Inst. neg. 33. 1639; not illustrated by Espérandieu).

Vine-scrolls with birds or animals but no human figures:

(a) *Columns and half-columns:* Espérandieu, II. 1289 (medallion-scrolls) and 1356; III. 2735 (medallion-scrolls); IX. 6957.

(b) *Friezes and pilasters:* Espérandieu II. 1214; V. 4229 and 4234; VI. 5011 and 5096 (table-support with formal scroll); IX. 6972; X. 7338 (Severan inscription, *v. supra*); XI. 7727.

The material from the Spanish provinces is less readily surveyed, and it seems that, in any case, the peopled scroll played a smaller part than it did in Gaul.[158] That one characteristic variant, however, had penetrated to the architectural sculpture of the extreme West is shown by a fragment of a horizontal frieze in the Museum of Archaeology at Barcelona, carved with a running acanthus-scroll, from the two surviving whorls of which emerge the half-length figure of a putto and the forepart of a beast, perhaps a horse: between the whorls are a bird and a frog. A second frieze-fragment in the same collection shows a human head above the acanthus-calyx at the centre of a plain running acanthus-scroll. In the Museum of Córdoba there is a fragment of a marble panel on which a bird and a lizard play among the foliage of a plain acanthus-scroll.[159]

From Roman Britain three fragments of indigenous works exhibit familiar variants of the peopled scroll: (*a*) a small, horizontal stone frieze in the Cirencester Museum (B 2116) with a wreathed female head above the spring of the stylised acanthus-scroll; (*b*), two horizontal mosaic panels from the Roman villa at Wellow, Somerset, in each of which two spotted beasts stand in a floral scroll;[160] and (*c*) part of a stone slab, probably from Corbridge and now in Hexham Abbey, with two putti, a goat, and a

[158] Prof. J. de C. Serra-Ràfols, who has kindly sent photographs of the two examples here cited from Barcelona, confirms that they are, to his knowledge, unique in Catalonia, and that he knows of no other Spanish examples.

[159] P. Batlle Huguet, *Arte Romana* (*Ars Hispaniae*, ii, Madrid, 1947), 35, fig. 17.

[160] *Victoria Country History*, *Somerset*, i, fig. 72.

cock in a vertical vine-scroll.[161] The second and third of these objects are certainly of late date; the first might be of the second or third century.

The Danube provinces furnish at least one important item. To the Tropaeum Traiani at Adamklissi belong portions of a horizontal frieze, which may have encircled the drum of the monument just below the 'metopes'. Each whorl of its running acanthus-scroll terminates in the head of a wolf.[162] Ferri ascribes the frieze to a Constantinian reconstruction of the trophy.[163] But the foliage is widely spaced, not unnaturalistic, and not deeply undercut, and it is better regarded as the effort of a military or local craftsman of Trajan's time than as fourth-century work.

9. *The Eastern Provinces.*

The scattered and all too scanty remains of Roman architectural sculpture in the eastern provinces are of particular importance for the history of the peopled scroll. Not only was this the region in which had been evolved most of the stock variants of the motif, that were later current in Italy and the West; but, as in so many other comparable fields, it remained a source for the periodic enrichment and refreshment of the stylistic repertory of the capital and of some of the more favoured provinces. It was, moreover, in the eastern provinces of the Empire that the new principles, that were to play so large a part in the transformation of classical decorative art, first made themselves felt, whether by infiltration from beyond the frontiers or by the re-emergence of submerged native elements within them; and it was the craftsmen who moulded the development of the peopled scroll in Asia Minor and in Syria, who sustained the first impact of these new decorative principles, and experimented in expressing in the language of the new ideas the traditional artistic formulae of the Hellenistic world. Some of the features, noted in the previous sections as characteristic of the later scrolls of Rome and Italy, were anticipated several generations earlier in the East. It can be no mere coincidence, for example, that the exploitation of animated scrolls by east-Roman decorators on the new state buildings of Severan Lepcis (p. 37 f.) was followed almost immediately by their reappearance in the ornamentation of official monuments in the capital. There was in this case, it is true, a contributory factor, the influence of congenial Flavian models on the Severan restorers; but a comparison between such early third-century pieces as the pilasters in S. Lorenzo (p. 20; cf. the earlier pilasters at Naples, p. 35), and those from the baths at Aphrodisias (p. 34) and at Lepcis Magna (p. 38) can leave no reasonable doubt that the influence of east-Roman craftsmen and ideas also played an important part. It is particularly unfortunate therefore that the material does not survive for a consecutive account of the development of this branch of east-Roman decorative art. All that is possible is a brief survey of the principal variants of inhabited scroll-work in vogue in these eastern areas, whether known from records or from existing fragments.

The female figure poised above, or emerging from, the centre of a scroll, reappears in all its variants in the architectural sculpture of the Roman age. In the Augusteum at

[161] T. D. Kendrick, *Anglo-Saxon Art to A.D. 900*, 1938, pl. xvi.4.

[162] G. Tocilescu, *Das Monument von Adamklissi: Tropaeum Traiani*, 1895, 18, fig. 12, pls. ii, iii; A. Furtwangler, *Das Tropaion von Adamklissi* (*Abhandlungen der philosophisch-philologischen Klasse der kön. bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 22), 1903, pl. iii, 3, 4; F. Studniczka, *Tropaeum Traiani*, 1904, p. 94, fig. 54.

[163] S. Ferri, *Arte romana sul Danubio*, 1933, 371–2, figs. 504 and 505.

Ankara, a Victory hovers above an acanthus-calyx between floral spirals on one of the pilaster-capitals, and nude, winged figures are perched here and there in the adjacent acanthus-frieze.[164] Wingless, foliate-skirted nymphs rise from a tier of acanthus-leaves and clutch the stems of flanking scroll-work on a pair of elaborate pilaster-capitals at Istanbul, from the main, east entrance to the Hadrianic baths at Aphrodisias.[165] A similar creature, but winged, occupies the pediment of one of the ornamental niches in the north-west exedra of the fore-court at Baalbek;[166] and as late as the close of the third century A.D. the acanthus scroll-work of one of the decorative friezes of the arch of Galerius at Saloniki springs from a winged and foliate-skirted figure, which is in direct line of descent from the figure on the Artemision at Magnesia (Pl. II, 2).[167] Three-quarter-length female figures spring from acanthus-foliage at the centre of two surviving east-Roman scrolls: on the central pediment of the *scenae frons* of the theatre at Aspendos, *c.* A.D. 155, on which a nude figure stands knee-high within an acanthus-calyx, clutching the stems of two spreading rinceaux;[168] and on a pair of pilaster-capitals from Heraclea-on-Marmara (Perinthos), with a draped female figure rising from the thighs behind the central of three acanthus-leaves and clutching the stems of scrolls which fill the upper angles.[169] A second pair of capitals, from the same set as these last, figure putti with the attributes of Hercules,[170] and all four may be dated probably to the second century. Yet another Hellenistic variant, the acroterion of the Artemision at Magnesia (p. 6) reappears in Roman guise on the Traianeum at Pergamon.[171] To these traditional representations of the human figure, in whole or in part, may be added a diversity of less formal uses, of which the following may serve as examples. A remarkable lunette at Khirbet el-Tannûr in Transjordania portrays the bust of Atargatis, with leaves sprouting from her face, neck, and chest, in the centre of an elegant, spreading floral scroll.[172] Scrolls with masks or faces framed in the whorls can be seen in the second-century Nymphaeum at Aspendos,[173] and in a late Roman frieze-fragment from Khirbet Keraze, Palestine;[174] and busts, flanked by scrolls but unattached to them, figure in the temple at Burkush in Syria.[175] The facade of the library at Ephesus (*c.* A.D. 115) shows a series of spread-eagles flanked by acanthus-scrolls in the frieze of its lower order, and Medusa-masks flanked by scrolls in the two rounded pediments of its upper order.[175a]

Protomai of beasts appear in an unusual form at Baalbek, where a series of consoles in the shape of the forequarters of alternate bulls and lions, linked by garlands, constitute the frieze of the main entablature of each of the two main temples.[176] (For the

[164] C. Texier and R. P. Pullan, *The Principal Ruins of Asia Minor illustrated and described*, 1865, pl. xxv; D. Krencker and M. Schede, *Der Tempel in Ankyra* (*Denkmäler antiker Architektur*, 3), 1936, pl. xlvii. c.

[165] Squarciapino, pl. xxi; Mendel, ii, pp. 185–8; nos. 494–5. For the surviving member of the pair of acanthus-scroll pilasters which carried these capitals, *v. infra*, p. 34.

[166] B. Schulz and H. Winnefeld, *Baalbek*, i, 1921, pl. 96.

[167] K. F. Kinch, *L'Arc de Triomphe de Salonique*, 1890, pl. vi; Peirce and Tyler, i, pl. i.

[168] Texier and Pullan, *op. cit.*, pl. xxxix; K. Lanckoronski, *Städte Pamphyliens und Pisidiens*, i, 1890, 113, fig. 89.

[169] Mendel, iii, 547–9, nos. 1341–2.

[170] *Ibid.*, 549–551, nos. 1343–4.

[171] *Pergamon*, v. 2, *Das Traianeum*, 33–4, pls. xiv, xv.

[172] *Revue Archéologique*, x, 1937, 246 (fig. 2); *AJA*, xli, 1937, 375, figs. 14, 15. Cf. the bust at Istanbul, from the Hadrianic baths at Aphrodisias, of Atargatis in her fish-goddess form; *Latomus*, ii, 1949, 257 ff., pl. xvi.

[173] Lanckoronski, *op. cit.*, 100, fig. 78; *JDAI*, xliv, 1929, 269, fig. 3.

[174] *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities, Palestine*, x, 1944, pl. xxviii, 3.

[175] D. Krencker and W. Zschietzschmann, *Römische Tempel in Syrien*, 1938, 237 and 239, figs. 362 and 364.

[175a] W. Wilberg, *Jahreshefte des österreichischen archäologischen Institutes*, xi, 1908, 122–3, figs. 24–6.

[176] B. Schulz and H. Winnefeld, *Baalbek*, i, 1921, pls. xxiii, lx (great temple, first century A.D.); D. Krencker, Th. von Lüpke, H. Winnefeld, *ibid.*, ii, 8, fig. 12; 10, fig. 14; 11, fig. 16 = *Syria*, xxiii, 1942–3, 49, fig. 8 (small, or 'Bacchus-', temple, second century A. D.).

significance of these figures, *v. infra.*) It may well be that such three-dimensional examples echo the source of the more familiar architectural usage with human protomai and animals emerging in relief from the terminal flowers of the whorls of a running, single scroll (p. 5). The latter, as the following examples show, was widely applied to monumental architecture in the eastern provinces from early Imperial times onwards:[177]

'Atil, Djebel Haurân, from one of the two closely related temples (H. C. Butler, *American Archaeological Expedition to Syria*, 1899–1900, part ii, *Architecture and other Arts*, 343–7; one of the two is dated to A.D. 151): fragment of a basalt frieze with a deer emerging from a flower in the centre of one of the surviving whorls. Pl. XX, 2.

Baalbek: frieze above the great door of the 'Temple of Bacchus'; in addition to protomai of beasts, a full-length standing putto occupies one whorl. *Baalbek*, ii, pls. xlix and l. For the identification of the three figures of a youth, a lion, and a bull with the Heliopolitan triad see *Syria*, x, 1929, 314–356 and xxiii, 1942–3, 49.

Kanawât, Djebel Haurân: fragment of a basalt frieze with a simple acanthus-scroll, within the whorls of which appear two horned animals' heads. Pl. XX, 3.

Palmyra: soffit from the peristyle of the temple of Bel, dedicated in A.D. 32, an elaborate composition with a central Victory and, to right and left, hunting-scrolls: most of the figures thread their way through the foliage but one, a horse, emerges from the centre of one of the whorls. Pl. XX, 1. *Syria*, xv, 1934, 37.

Palmyra: Frieze from the mid-second-century west stoa of the temple of Bel; R. Wood, *Palmyra*, 1753, pls. xiv, xv; Th. Wiegand, *Palmyra*, 1932, 144. M. Seyrig confirms that Wood's drawings, though inaccurate in detail, are right in principle. For the date of this stoa, see *Syria*, xiv, 1935, 295.

Si'â, now in Soueida Museum: two fragments of a basalt frieze figuring a lion-protome emerging from a flower-centre, and the bust of a girl, appearing above, and clutching, a stem; an example of good local work, probably of the second century. M. Dunand, *Le Musée de Soueïda*, Paris, 1934, nos. 138–9, pl. xxx.

Soueida Museum: fragment of a basalt frieze of unknown provenience, of rough, local workmanship; within the two surviving volutes, protomai of a bull and of a boar. *Ibid.*, no. 129, pl. xxix.

Soueida Museum: fragment of a basalt frieze of unknown provenience, with an acanthus-scroll, in one of the whorls of which crouches a beast.

Qasr Rabbah, Transjordania: frieze-fragments from the Nabataean temple, assigned to the early second century. A three-quarter-length human figure and the forequarters of a lion and of a gazelle emerge from acanthus-whorls, which are executed in a deeply undercut, two-plane, black-and-white technique reminiscent of western work of the following century. *AJA*, xliii, 1939, 384–5, figs. 9–11; *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities, Palestine*, x, 1944, pl. xxvii.9.

Anavarza (Anazarbas), Cilicia: on the so-called arch of Justinian (third-century

[177] For information concerning peopled scrolls in Syria, and for the photos illustrated we are indebted to M. Henri Seyrig, Director of the Institut français d'archéologie, Beirut.

A.D. ?) there is an acanthus-frieze with animal-protomai. Information from M. Gough.

Aphrodisias (Caria): see pp. 34, 35.

Myra: frieze from the theatre. Ch. Texier and R. P. Pullan, *The Principal Ruins of Asia Minor*, 1865, pl. 45.

Istanbul Museum: two marble slabs of uncertain, but possibly local, provenience, each decorated on the forward and lateral edges with acanthus-scrolls with protomai of beasts and, in one case, a human head. At the centre of each scroll is a nude female bust, the one rising from an acanthus-calyx, the other foliate-skirted. Mendel, iii, 619–622, nos. 1409 and 1410.

The motif was not confined to architectural sculpture. It can be seen, for example, on the lower border of an early third-century sarcophagus from Sidon, now in the British Museum (Pl. XXI, 2),[178] on the lid of another, also of east-Roman workmanship, in the Castle of Tripoli (Pl. XXI, 3), and on the lower borders of at least three others of the same series, at Kertsch, near Sparta, and at Agrigento.[179] An instance of the same motif in metal-work of eastern origin can be seen on a silver plate in the Hermitage, decorated with a circular zone of six frilled medallions, containing each an animal-protome, and connected by very stylised leaf-scrolls, through which stride six putti.[179a]

The medallion-scroll, never common in Rome and Italy, had a wide currency in the Roman East, both with and without figures. For the latter three notable examples must suffice in the present context: the surround of the main door of the Augusteum at Ankara, double acanthus-scroll;[180] a pilaster in the Museum at Istanbul, from Cyzicus, double acanthus-scroll, closely akin in treatment to the pilaster from the Hadrianic baths at Aphrodisias:[181] and the handsome, double vine-scroll on the curved front of an engaged column with flat sides, also in the Museum at Istanbul, where it was found re-used in the East Sea Palace.[182] The outstanding figured, medallion vine-scroll is that on the surround of the great door of the temple of Bacchus at Baalbek, with vintaging putti and long-robed Bacchantes in the medallions (Pl. XXII, 2).[183] Here the vertical, flanking scrolls are continued horizontally across the lintel, a far less familiar form which is repeated on another Syrian example, a basalt lintel from Kanawât in the Haurân, now in Soueida Museum.[184] This is a skilful, lively piece of the late second, or early third, century depicting the birth of Dusaries-Dionysos, who appears in the centre as a winged putto standing thigh-deep in an acanthus-plant, from which deeply-cut, double vine-scrolls break away to right and left, with putti gathering the grapes in each medallion. A handsome late third-century example with birds in the medallions can be seen on a

[178] C. Robert, *Antike Sarkophagreliefs*, ii, 1890, 129, pl. xlv, fig. 110; *Catal. of Sculpture in the British Museum*, iii, 1904, 311 ff., no. 2303.

[179] Robert, *op. cit.*, ii, 26–9, no. 21, pl. viii and ix (Kertsch); *ibid.* iii, 175–6, no. 147, pl. xlv = Suppl. pl. vii (near Sparta, now destroyed); *ibid.* iii, 178–181, no. 152 b, pl. xlvii = *Arch. Anz.*, 1940, 603–4, fig. 3 (one end of the well-known Hippolytus sarcophagus at Agrigento).

[179a] Y. I. Smirnoff, *Argenterie Orientale*, 1909, pl. xiv.

[180] D. Krencker and M. Schede, *Der Tempel in Ankyra* (*Denkmäler antiker Architektur*, 3), 1936, pls. xiv, xxvi.

[181] *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, xlv, 1921, 436 ff.; Squarciapino, pl. M.

[182] Mendel, iii, 424–7, no. 1179 (fig.); E. Mamboury and Th. Wiegand, *Die Kaiserpaläste von Konstantinopel*, 1934, pl. xxxix. Istanbul Museum photos, nos. 2058–2060. Mamboury and Wiegand suggest a Severan date, with which the flat treatment of the plant accords; but the wide spacing of the designs is more reminiscent of Antonine work.

[183] *Baalbek*, ii, 1923, pls. li–lii.

[184] M. Dunand, *Le Musée de Soueïda*, 1934, 14–15, no. 3, pl. v. Cf. *Syria*, vii, 1926, pl lxiii, 2; xxiii, 1942–3, 66, fig. 15, 1. There is part of what appears to be a companion piece, also from Kanawât, now in the Louvre (A.O. 11.078).

pilaster of the Diocletianic fort at Palmyra.[185] From the same site comes an example in sculpture of the free, all-over vine-scroll with vintaging putti, in the coffering of one of the grave-towers.[186]

It has already been remarked (p. 23) that in Rome and Italy the formal vine-scroll with figures was introduced relatively late, and it has been suggested that the source from which it was derived, from which indeed some of the finest Roman examples were imported, lay in the Roman East. That the east-Roman vine-scroll of the Imperial age, some of the outstanding examples of which are listed in the preceding paragraph, is derived in its turn from earlier, local models, of a decidedly native, non-classical character, is one of the most significant results of the French excavations within the precinct of the temple of Bel at Palmyra. Found re-used in the footings of a wall, which was subsequently demolished at the beginning of the Flavian period, were a number of soft limestone blocks. These blocks, which can hardly be later than the end of the first century B.C., are carved in relief with a variety of decorative designs, prominent among which are vine-scrolls formed by a single stem looped alternately to right and to left, with single vine-leaves and bunches of grapes set schematically within the loops. The character of the relief and the unusual mouldings plainly imitate wood-carving, while the rigorously geometric composition, the two-dimensional, black-and-white effect of some of the scrolls, and the curious triangular feature from which many of them spring are all without parallel in contemporary, western, Graeco-Roman art. M. Seyrig's suggestion that they are derived from a source still further to the east, probably from Iran, with which Palmyra was linked by trade, carries conviction.[186a] These scrolls are without figures. A few decades later the same scrolls are found, this time incorporating birds pecking at the grapes and a male bust, in the carved ornament of the superstructure of the peristyle of the temple of Bel.[186b] The architectural context and the strictly classical character of the accompanying mouldings confirm that the introduction of figures must be attributed, like the peopled acanthus-scroll from the same building (p. 32), to the impact of classical models on this native, eastern tradition.

Perhaps the most important single item from the Roman East, certainly one of the finest, is a pilaster, now in Istanbul, the surviving member of a pair which once adorned the main entrance to the Hadrianic baths at Aphrodisias (Pl. XXIV, 2). This masterpiece of mid-second-century decorative art has been fully described and illustrated elsewhere.[187] The subject-matter is remarkably varied: within the whorls, busts or three-quarter-length figures emerging from flowers, full-length figures galloping through the foliage, or whole figured groups; and in the spandrels, a wealth of smaller beings, beasts, and birds. This variety of content is matched by a rich diversity of treatment. The formality of the scroll-work pattern, with its medallion-like whorls, is combined with a carefree exuberance of detail; and while the figures throughout are plastic and naturalistic, the

[185] Th. Wiegand, *Palmyra*, 1932, pl. liv.

[186] *Ibid.*, pl. liii.

[186a] H. Seyrig, 'Antiquités Syriennes, 32: Ornamenta Palmyrena antiquiora', *Syria*, xxi, 1940, 279–328.

[186b] *Syria*, xv, 1934, pls. xix, xx (two pairs of symmetrical vine-scrolls, with birds, forming the lower borders of the figured panels decorating two of the transverse beams spanning the peristyle; on one there is male bust at the junction of the two scrolls); xxiii (the border of a figured soffit, vine-scroll with birds).

[187] Mendel, ii, 179–184, no. 493 (figs.); M. Schede, *Meisterwerke der türkischen Museen*, i: *griech. und röm. Skulpturen des Antikenmuseums*, 1928, pls. xxxv, xxxvi; Squarciapino, pls. xix, xx. Istanbul Museum photos, nos. 1617–1622. For the capitals belonging to these pilasters, *v. supra*, p. 31. For the date of the baths, see *CRAcad.* 1906, 167.

foliate detail hovers between naturalism and the more patterned, brilliant, black-and-white effects achieved by high relief and undercutting. Here, both in subject-matter and in technique, are the models for the finest animated scrolls of later date, those of the Lepcis Magna pilasters and of the Museo Petriano panels. Meanwhile, close parallels, in style and technique, to the Aphrodisias pilaster are to be found in the pair of rectangular pilasters in the church of S. Giovanni Maggiore at Naples (pp. 18, 20, 30), each carved on two adjacent faces with vertical acanthus-scrolls. On the one of these faces flowers occupy the centres of the whorls and minute birds and beasts the spandrel; on the other are displayed flower-cupped protomai of putti and of beasts alternately.

On a smaller scale and perhaps half-a-century later in date are the unpublished fragments of a small, marble frieze from the gymnasium at Aphrodisias, now in the British Museum (Pl. XXIII).[188] The whorls of the single acanthus-scroll curl into circular medallions, within which figures a lively assortment of putti and beasts: four putti in the guise of the Seasons, a cock-fight, a seated ape, a hound pulling down a stag, a putto releasing a bird from a wicker cage, another rescuing a hare from a hound. Above the central calyx rises the bust of a sphinx, who clutches the stems of the scroll in her powerful claws. Of another frieze from Aphrodisias, from the Hadrianic baths, now at Smyrna, a fragment only survives. Executed in a more summary technique, it shows a vigorous boar attacked by a hound within a quasi-medallion. Only the foreparts of the beasts are to be seen, emerging obliquely from the background (Pl. XXVI, 2).[189]

Egypt presents something of a special case. The importance of Alexandria as a centre for the arts in Roman times is a highly controversial topic. In the present context it must be sufficient to note that finds on Egyptian soil, such as the metal-worker's casts from Memphis (p. 4) and the Hermoupolis silver beaker (p. 24), prove conclusively that certain forms of peopled scroll were established in the Alexandrian silver-smith's repertory already in Hellenistic and early Imperial times; and to suggest that their work may have played a considerable part in the diffusion of the motif. It is not, however, until the late Empire that there is any certain trace of its application to monumental sculpture. The porphyry sarcophagus of Constantia (p. 24) and the fragment of a similar sarcophagus in Istanbul[190] are certainly of Egyptian origin. A limestone pilaster from Bawît, now in the Louvre,[191] and the wooden door from the church of St. Barbara in Old Cairo[192] display figured vine-scrolls, which are closely related in content and style to the ivories of the Throne of Maximian at Ravenna (p. 26), itself the product either of an Alexandrian workshop or of a workshop under strong Alexandrian influence; and friezes from Oxyrhyncus and Ahnâs[193] illustrate the passage of the acanthus-scroll with animal-protomai from late classical into Coptic sculpture.

The series of east-Roman architectural sculptures with peopled scrolls closes with two column-fragments in Istanbul, with figured scenes incorporated into all-over vine-

[188] Inv. no. 1921, 12–20, 1237; *CRAcad.* 1904, 703; 1906, 155 and 158.

[189] A. Aziz, *Guide du Musée de Smyrna*, 1933, no. 162, pl. i. See also the acroteria of the propyleion to the sanctuary of Aphrodite at Aphrodisias (*Monumenti Antichi*, xxxviii, 1939, ii, 125–6, pl. xl, 5) with three-quarter-length figures of deer leaping through the whorls of a complex scroll.

[190] Mendel, ii, 447–8, no. 665; Peirce and Tyler, i, pl. 18; R. Delbrueck, *Antike Porphyrwerke*, 1932, pl. 107, 2; *Early Christian and Byzantine Art: an exhibition held at the Baltimore Museum of Art*, 1947, no. 34, pl. ix.

[191] *Archaeologia*, lxxxvii, 1938, 212, pl. lxxvii, i.

[192] *Ibid.*, 212, pls. lxxv, 3 and lxxvi, i; A. Patricolo and U. Monneret de Villard, *The Church of Sitt Barbara in Old Cairo*, 1922.

[193] *Archaeologia*, lxxxvii, 1938, pl. lxxi, 2–5; U. Monneret de Villard, *La Scultura ad Ahnâs*, 1923, figs. 86–7, cf. figs. 85, 88, and 89, from the Fayûm.

scrolls: on the one, secular subjects, peasants with animals; and on the other, a mixture of secular and Biblical themes, including the Baptism of Christ.[194] These columns may be as late as the fifth or sixth century, but they are not unreminiscent of earlier work. While the designs as a whole are worked two-dimensionally and produce a flat, lattice-like effect, the individual figures are comparatively well modelled and expressive, the stems of the vine firmly drawn and pliant, and the leaves well drawn, with careful veining. But the scenes and figures have no such logical connection with the foliage as have the vintaging putti of earlier scrolls, nor are they framed within it nor organically integrated into it. The vine is spread like a continuous tapestry background, into which figured pictures have been woven here and there.[195]

Even with the aid of such east-Roman exports to the West as the spiral columns in St. Peter's (p. 25) and the S. Lorenzo vine-scroll sarcophagus (p. 24), the picture presented by the sculptural series is sadly incomplete. Fortunately, however, it can be confirmed and amplified by reference to the magnificent series of mosaic pavements from Antioch-on-the-Orontes. These range from the late first century A.D. to the early years of the sixth; and although it is not until the fourth century that the particular motifs which are the primary subject of this paper make an appearance, in more general terms the series offers an unrivalled opportunity for tracing the stylistic evolution of the peopled scroll in east-Roman pictorial art. In the earliest of the houses excavated, the late first-century Atrium House, the light-on-dark vine-scroll border, springing from masks and inhabited by tiny beasts and birds, is in a tradition of naturalism that stems straight from such Hellenistic models as the palace mosaic at Pergamon.[196] A light-on-dark acanthus-scroll with masks and putti in a rectangular mosaic border from Shahba-Philippopolis is rendered in the same style. In the lower (Severan) level of the House of the Buffet Supper, the treatment is still three-dimensional, but reflects the characteristic features of its period in the strong accentuation of high lights against the dark ground;[197] while in the House of the Boat of Psyches (A.D. 235–312) the light-on-dark technique has become entirely two-dimensional.[198] These last two examples combine masks and formal foliate ornament, but do not otherwise belong at all closely to the present inquiry. In the Constantinian Villa, on the other hand, not only does each of the Seasons stand, amid appropriate foliage, knee-deep in an acanthus-calyx, from which spring the stems of a running, acanthus-scroll border, inset with masks;[199] but in the adjacent room 4 there are fragments of a vine-scroll border, with figures in the whorls and masks at the angles.[200] The line-drawing of figures and plants alike is delicate and realistic; but there is virtually no modelling, just a succession of flat, superimposed surfaces of light and dark. In this respect it may be contrasted with the later (early fifth-century), but more genuinely naturalistic and plastic, acanthus-scroll borders, with masks, birds, and fruit in the whorls, in the Imperial Palace in Constantinople.[201] At Antioch a further

[194] *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, i, 1892, 576–88, pl. i and ii; Peirce and Tyler, i, pl. 127; Mendel, ii, 435–42, nos. 658–9 (figs.); *Early Christian and Byzantine Art: an exhibition held at the Baltimore Museum of Art*, 1947, 32, no. 54, pl. iv.

[195] Cf. the much disputed Antioch chalice, Peirce and Tyler, i, pls. xcix, c; for bibliography, see *Orientalia Christiana*, 1926–7, 8–10; A. Adriani, *Le gobelet en argent des amours vendangeurs du Musée d'Alexandrie*, 1939, 37–8.

[196] D. Levi, *Antioch Mosaic Pavements*, 1947, pls. i, b and cxlvi, b.

[197] *Ibid.*, pls. xxiii, c and cxlii, b.

[198] *Ibid.*, pls. xxxv, b, and cliii, b.

[199] *Ibid.*, pls. liv–lvii.

[200] *Ibid.*, pl. cxliii, b–e.

[201] *The Great Palace of the Byzantine Emperors*, 1947, pls. xxviii, xxix, xxxi, xl, xliii, xlix, and l.

stage in this development confronts us in the running acanthus-scroll from the House of the Rams' Heads (*c.* 500), with putti and animal-protomai in the whorls,[202] and in the acanthus-scroll with birds and putti hunting beasts in the contemporary House of the Worcester Hunt,[203] where the delicacy and realism of the Constantinian draughtsmanship have completely vanished and hard, dry lines define the foliage. With these may be compared the sixth-century scrolls with beasts, birds, and human figures in their whorls in the mosaics of the Glass Court (upper level) and Church of St. John the Baptist at Gerasa.[203a] The final stage in the denaturalisation of the peopled scroll at Antioch is reached in the completely schematised, repetitive borders of the sixth-century Martyrion of Seleucia[204] and of the contemporary House of the Bird Rinceau.[205] This is the same world as that of the double-vine-scroll border, with repeated pairs of huntsmen and their quarry, in the pavement of the sixth-century church at Nikopolis,[206] and of the great fifth- and sixth-century all-over vine-scroll pavements with regular, close-set rows of figured medallions, such as that at Beisan, with twelve scenes of country life,[207] or that from Qabr-Hirâm, near Tyre, now in the Louvre, with thirty-one medallions framing putti, hunting or vintaging, and animals.[208]

10. *North Africa.*

Outstanding among the peopled scrolls from the southern Mediterranean sea-board is the rich sculptural series, homogeneous in date and provenience, which adorned the great Severan buildings of Lepcis Magna. Not only does the complex as a whole afford an unusually clear picture of some of the cross-currents at work within the broad stream of Imperial art; but it offers an invaluable fixed point in the chronological development of several of its constituent elements. The whole programme was completed between A.D. 193, at earliest, and 216; and despite a diversity of treatment and of standards of artistic competence, which betrays the work of many hands, in technique and style the architectural scrolls throughout the series bear the stamp of a distinctive and quite unmistakable family likeness.

Among the relief-sculptures of the four-way Severan arch at Lepcis, completed probably in 203, three groups of animated scrolls may be distinguished: (*a*) vertical single scrolls of vine, each springing from a chalice, with thick and strongly accentuated main stems and vintaging putti and birds' nests in the volutes; they were originally eight in number, grouped in pairs to form the four large angle-pilasters of the arch;[209] (*b*) vertical single scrolls of acanthus, with an animal-protome in the terminal flower of each whorl, twenty-four in number, grouped in pairs to form the twelve smaller angle-pilasters of the passage-ways; and (*c*) horizontal running scrolls of acanthus, with similar animal-protomai, on the lower of the two friezes of each of the four main entablatures.[210] All three series, the first and third in particular, display a striking inequality of workmanship, which reveals unmistakably, side by side with the skilled craftsman, the unpractised hand of the apprentice.[211]

[202] Levi, *op. cit.*, pl. lxxxii, d.
[203] *Ibid.*, pl. cxliv, b–c.
[203a] Ed. C. H. Kraeling, *Gerasa, City of the Decapolis*, 1938, pls. lviii, c, lxix, b; Peirce and Tyler, ii, pl. cxxiii.
[204] Levi, *op. cit.*, pl. clxxxi, c.
[205] *Ibid.*, pls. xci, xcii, b and clxxxi, d.
[206] Πρακτικά, 1915, 76 ff., figs. 10, 12–19.
[207] Peirce and Tyler, ii, pl. cxcv.
[208] *Orientalia Christiana*, 1926–7, pl. xxiii; C. Cecchelli, *La cattedra di Massimiano*, Rome, 1935–44, p. 86 (fig.).
[209] *Africa Italiana*, iv, 1931, 56–60; Squarciapino, pls. xxx b and xxxi; *JRS*, xxxviii, 1948, pl. vii, 1 and 3–5.
[210] *Africa Italiana*, iv, 1931, 69–70, figs. 40–1.
[211] *JRS*, xxxviii, 1948, 72–3. Several sections of the frieze are executed in a hard, dry manner which is in striking contrast with that of the published fragments.

Of the eight pilasters in the Severan basilica[212] completed in 216, four are decorated on each of three sides with a double vertical scroll, freely composed into informal medallions. On two of them the scrolls consist of grape-vines springing from chalices and framing scenes from the triumph of Dionysos (Liber Pater) and the figures of members of his train, with birds, beasts, and putti in the spandrels. The corresponding pair portrays, similarly framed in the foliage of a grapeless vine (?), the Labours of Hercules and figures of the god drawn from the repertory of familiar Hellenistic statuary (Pl. XXIV, 1). Liber Pater and Hercules, it may be noted, were the city's patron divinities. The remaining four pilasters (Pl. XXV, 2) bear double acanthus-scrolls, composed more formally into medallions and springing each from an acanthus-calyx, in which stands, knee-deep, a naked female figure, clutching the stems in her hands. Within the whorls are flowers, mostly with animal-protomai emerging from the centres, several full-length putti, and in one case a frontal female face. The spandrels are alive with smaller putti and beasts, and one of the scrolls ends at the top with a draped frontal Victory, others with half-palmettes that recall the pilasters from Aphrodisias (p. 34) and from Cyzicus (p. 33).

The individual figures in all of these scrolls, except for those obviously assigned to the masters' less promising pupils,[213] bear the impress of a good tradition of modelling. This is particularly true of the Hercules pilasters in the basilica. But the foliage is everywhere extremely flat; and the decorative intention is essentially the same all through. All in varying degree embody the lace-work technique, which was already current in the eastern Mediterranean (p. 35) and appears for the first time in western scrolls of contemporary or of slightly later date (p. 20). It is not relief in the normal classical sense, in which the raised work grows out of, and belongs to, its background. The closely packed design was first drawn out on the surface of the marble, after which the interstices were bored away and the figures and foliage so deeply undercut that they appear to be stretched in space, brilliantly lighted, against a black void. The most complete embodiment of this conception of relief at Lepcis can be seen in the two Liber Pater pilasters in the basilica. As compared with the predominant, all-over impression of lace-work, the more plastic rendering of individual figures is of little significance. Even in the acanthus-scroll pilasters and friezes from the four-way arch, where the background is more in evidence and the undercutting rather less strongly developed, the conception is still two-dimensional, with the design laid parallel to the background, without any organic connection with it.

Common to the pilasters both of the arch and of the basilica are the mouldings of the frame, the detail of which appears in flat counter-relief against a punched-out background (Pls. XXIV, 1; XXV, 2). They resemble very closely those of the Hadrianic pilaster from Aphrodisias (Pl. XXIV, 2), the close kinship of which with the Lepcis pilasters M. Squarciapino has clearly demonstrated.[214] Her inference that the latter represent the work of imported Aphrodisian artists (assisted by local imitators) must be accepted, with the important modification that these were much more probably drawn direct from Caria than from the Aphrodisian colony in Rome. In the Hadrianic scrolls the figures are, as might be expected at this earlier date, more plastically modelled than are many of

[212] *Africa Italiana*, i, 1927, 64–72, figs. 10–18; Squarciapino, pls. xxviii, xxix, and xxx a; *JRS*, xxxviii, 1948, 73–4, pls. vii, 2 and viii, 1–3.

[213] *JRS*, xxxviii, 1948, pl. vii, 4.

[214] Squarciapino, p. 88.

those at Lepcis, the foliage is more naturalistic, the undercutting less pronounced, and the conception of relief more three-dimensional. But from their whole scheme of design, from the content of their figure-subjects and from the employment in subsidiary details of the same intaglio technique, it is clear beyond doubt that they constitute a vital link in the pedigree of the Lepcis scrolls.

Apart from the differences imposed by material, the stylistic and technical features of the Severan marble scrolls recur in the running acanthus-scrolls from the limestone entablature of the porticoes surrounding the Forum Novum Severianum at Lepcis. These are coarser and for the most part unpopulated. But in one surviving fragment a rosette disgorges the forepart of a lion; and in another a smiling human face, framed in petals, suggests an animated sunflower. A fragment of the marble frieze of the Forum Temple depicts the protome of a bull emerging from the whorl of an acanthus-scroll. In the Nymphaeum, which was substantially complete before the death of Severus, there are no peopled scrolls; but the detail of the superimposed marble orders displays the intaglio, lace-work technique in its most exaggerated form.

The Severan monuments were not the first to use peopled scrolls in Tripolitania. The arch of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus in Oea (Tripoli)[215] incorporates several east-Roman features; and while the peopled scroll is not among them, the vine-scrolls of the angle pilasters afford a valuable criterion for dating other second-century work in the province (Pl. XXVI, 3). These pilasters resemble those of the Lepcis arch in the flatness of the surfaces, the depth of undercutting and the accentuation of the main stems, but the leaves are more sensitively drawn and faithful to nature; and while the artist has worked to a large extent in two parallel planes, the background is not yet reduced to a mere shadow and has a function of its own in the design. The borders are done in shallow relief, not in intaglio. These features are closely repeated on an unpublished fragment of a marble pilaster, portraying a heavily-built dog in the whorl of a vine-scroll, from the Hadrianic baths at Lepcis (Pl. XXVI, 2). The exact location within the baths of this pilaster is not known, but it may well belong to the Commodan restoration of the building.[216]

Somewhat earlier again, perhaps, are the two halves of a pilaster, re-used as the door-posts of the mosque of Sidi el-Fergeani near the Wadi Caam (Pl. XXV, 1).[217] It comes certainly from Lepcis and portrays an acanthus-scroll, in the whorls of which are flowers and full-length or three-quarter-length figures of putti. The relief is bold and the design tightly packed into the field; but the foliage is altogether more exuberant and plastically modelled than on its Severan counterparts, and the surface of stems, flowers, and leaves, and of the border-mouldings also, is treated with a delicate fluting that softens the contours and brings out the finer points of the relief. This fluting is repeated identically on an acanthus-scroll frieze, with putti and beasts entwined in the whorls, from the west gate at Lepcis. In the quality of modelling and free, graceful flow of the design this frieze is even reminiscent of late Flavian work in Rome. The west gate and its sculptures have been dated by Caputo to the late first century;[218] but there is a growing body of

[215] *Boll. d'Arte*, 1925–6, 554–70; for angle pilaster, see fig. 6.

[216] For the Commodan restoration see R. Bartoccini, *Le Terme di Lepcis*, 1929, 79.

[217] Photo: Soprintendenza ai Monumenti e Scavi, Tripoli.

[218] *Archeologia Classica*, i, 1949, 86 ff., based mainly on the physiognomic and psychological aspects of the Medusa and Victory reliefs found in association with the frieze fragments; see also *JRS*, xxxviii, 1948, pl. ix, 2–3. The

evidence to show that marble was not used monumentally at Lepcis before the time of Hadrian, and it is wiser to regard this frieze as Hadrianic or early Antonine. To the same group of scrolls, using the same style and technique, but more closely woven in design and probably rather later in date, belongs a series of frieze-fragments, portraying protomai of beasts and of hunting putti in the whorls of an acanthus-scroll, which come from the internal entablature of the cruciform building, later converted into a baptistry, at the south-west angle of the forum at Sabratha (Pl. XXVI, 1).[219] The building is not precisely dated but can hardly be earlier than the middle of the second century.

Whatever the date of the individual pieces, it seems clear that the peopled scroll was already established in the architectural usage of Tripolitania before the time of Severus. The style of the group shows obvious affinities with the Hadrianic pilaster at Aphrodisias; and the possibility suggests itself that this second-century work too may have been the work of immigrant east-Roman craftsmen from Aphrodisias. So far as is known, Septimius Severus had no special or personal contacts with the Carian city; and the commissioning of Aphrodisian artists for his great building programme at Lepcis would be the more understandable if they were already known in Tripolitania for their work on public monuments of the preceding century.

Two other uses of the peopled scroll in the sculpture of Tripolitania deserve brief mention. They figure on at least three of the mausolea of the Djebel Nefusa in the interior of western Tripolitania, provincial work of the middle or late Empire, inspired no doubt by the monuments of the coastal cities.[220] The mausoleum of El-Amrouni in southern Tunisia, on the Tripolitanian border, is of the same general character.[221] A gabled, marble sarcophagus lid in the Castle Museum, Tripoli, with a miniature acanthus-frieze running along the lower border, and small birds and beasts entwined in the whorls (Pl. XXI, 3), is either an import from the eastern Mediterranean or a local copy of east-Roman work. It may be dated probably to the third century.

Sculptural inhabited scrolls from the more westerly provinces of Roman Africa are far less plentiful. From the Capitolium at Timgad come the sculptured soffits of three fragmentary architrave blocks, portraying rich acanthus-scrolls, the plastic treatment of which accords well with a date contemporary with the Trajanic foundation. In the centres of the surviving whorls are, respectively, a full-length frontal putto, a veiled female head and a Hercules.[222] A sarcophagus in the Timgad Museum has as its central feature a beardless male bust in a medallion of acanthus-leaves. Stylised acanthus-rinceaux spring to right and left and in each of the two terminal whorls is a graceful putto plucking a bunch of grapes, a clear instance of Dionysiac after-life symbolism. The proportions of the two putti, the wide spacing of the design and the crisp neatness of the floral work suggest an early second-century date.[223]

heads are, as Caputo remarks, closer to those of the Tiberian agora at Aphrodisias (*Monumenti Antichi*, xxxviii, 1939, p. 160 ff., pls. i–xl) than to the monster-like heads from the Hadrianic baths in that city or in the Severan forum at Lepcis (Squarciapino, pl. N). The fragments of two Flavian inscriptions found near the west gate do not belong to the arch, but come from some outlying monument demolished to provide material for the fourth-century walls.

[219] Photos: Soprintendenza ai Monumenti e Scavi, Tripoli, B 1284.

[220] F. Corò, *Vestigia di colonie agricole romane: Gebel Nefusa* (*Collezione di opere e monografie a cura del Ministero delle Colonie*, no. 9) Rome, 1928, 12–13 (mausoleum of Gsur el-Berber, 20 km. SE of Cabao); 30 (mausoleum of Tuil en-Nahla, near Cabao); 64 (mausoleum of Resciadet el-Tual, territory of Haraba).

[221] *Revue archéologique*[3] xxvi, 1895, 80–1, figs. 4–6; *Bullettino del Museo dell'Impero Romano*, xii, 1941, 68.

[222] A. Ballu, *Les Ruines de Timgad*, 1897, 204, fig. 31; A. Ballu and R. Cagnat, *Musée de Timgad* (*Musées et collections archéologiques de l'Algérie et de la Tunisie*, xii), 1903, 25, pl. vii, 1.

[223] Ballu and Cagnat, *op. cit.*, 24, pl. ix, 3.

The principal North African mosaics figuring peopled scrolls are well known and well published. The lovely polychrome acanthus-scroll from Zliten, with birds and birds' nests cupped in its flowers and other birds and animals balanced on its tendrils or filling the field, recalls the acanthus-dado of the Ara Pacis in the contrast between the formality and fanciful botanical combinations of the design as a whole and the minutely observed naturalism of the individual flowers, sprays, and leaves.[224] Aurigemma assigns the Zliten mosaics, on the ground of the content of the arena scenes, to the late first century A.D. A charming mosaic from Ouled-Agla in the Algiers Museum portrays putti fishing, riding on dolphins, etc., in the medallions of an acanthus-scroll.[225] Of the late second- or third-century Dionysiac pavements with figured vine-scrolls, the most distinguished are the drunken Dionysos from Carthage, with vintaging putti in vertical vine-scrolls;[226] the triumph of Dionysos from Sousse, with putti, birds, and baskets of grapes in the whorls of its formal vine-scroll border;[227] the triumph of Dionysos from El-Djem, in which vintaging putti, beasts, and other Dionysiac figures are disposed among the branches of four vines, which spread freely inwards towards the centre from vases placed in the angles;[228] and the Dionysos-and-Icarius mosaic from the villa of the Laberii at Oudna, similar in lay-out to the last-named, except that each scroll is double and spreads from a pair of medallions disposed along the diagonal axes, framing a neat, square panel about the central group.[229] In the same villa at Oudna and a part of the same decorative scheme, was found a fragmentary panel with protomai of beasts springing from the whorls of a formally arranged, spreading acanthus-scroll.[230] A fragment from Carthage in the Louvre (3466) shows one whorl of a vertical vine-scroll containing a vintaging putto. A fifth- or sixth-century Christian mosaic from Cherchel shows a vine-scroll springing from a chalice and framing animals in its medallions.[231] Most impressive of all is the latest monument of ancient art from Roman Sabratha, the great floor-mosaic from the nave of Justinian's church, executed by craftsmen brought for the purpose from Constantinople or from Syria.[232] From a huge calyx of stylised leaves spring two vine-scrolls, which interlace up the centre of the pavement and throw off shoots on either side. In three of the central medallions are a phoenix, a peacock, and a caged quail, symbolic respectively of the Resurrection, of immortality, and of the soul imprisoned in the flesh; and in a fourth medallion, and between the lateral branches, birds of many species, ranging at will and feeding upon the fruit, represent the liberated souls of the blessed in Paradise. It is a notable work of decorative art, and a striking example of the conversion to Christian use of the imagery of the pagan other-world.

11. *Conclusions.*

It is hardly to be expected that an inquiry into a subject, the strands of which are woven so widely into the complex fabric of late Hellenistic and Imperial decorative art, should yield many clear-cut answers, particularly as this inquiry has purposely been

[224] S. Aurigemma, *I mosaici di Zliten*, 1925, pl. E (p. 211), figs. 131–145.

[225] P. Wuilleumier, *Musée d'Alger: supplement*, 1928, 78, pl. xii, 3.

[226] *Inventaire des mosaïques de l'Afrique*, ii, 1, no. 744 (pl.).

[227] Bardo Museum, Tunis. *Africa Italiana*, vi, 1935, 147, fig. 34.

[228] *Africa Italiana*, v, 1933, 34, fig. 20; vi, 1935, 148, fig. 35.

[229] Bardo Museum, Tunis. P. Gauckler, *Monuments et Mémoires: Fondation Piot*, iii, 1896, pl. xxi; *Inventaire etc.*, ii, 1, no. 376 (pl.).

[230] *Monuments et Mémoires: Fondation Piot*, iii, 1896, 207, pl. xx.

[231] *Inventaire etc.*, iii, no. 435 (pl.).

[232] Peirce and Tyler, ii, pls. cxv, cxvia, and cxviia. A detailed publication by R. Bartoccini is in preparation.

limited to the formal aspects of the subject and has noted, in passing only, the symbolic intent of the several motifs, often in fact a dominant element in the design and never, perhaps, very far below the surface. It is, however, possible to distinguish certain general tendencies, which shaped the broader pattern; and there are certain clearly defined moments also in the development of the theme, which do allow of precise statement. Such a moment, for example, was Domitian's grandiose building-programme in the capital, which established the acanthus-scroll with intertwined beasts or with animal-protomai securely within the repertory of metropolitan Roman architectural ornament (p. 11); such was the deliberate revival of these and other Flavian motifs at the hands of the Severan restorers of Domitian's palace (p. 18), and again, at second remove, under Aurelian (p. 22); such again was the appointment of sculptors from Aphrodisias to supervise the architectural ornament of the Severan buildings at Lepcis Magna (pp. 37–40). It is only occasionally, however, that we can distinguish so clearly the accidents of personality or of historical circumstance that determined the detailed development of the individual motifs. Continuity from one phase to the next seems often to have lain in the field of the minor arts, the products of which, for all that they are less articulate of specific personalities and events, reached a far wider circle and provided the primary material for the creators of larger and more enduring monuments. Thus the architects of the Augustan theatre at Arles (p. 26) and of the arch of Titus (p. 11) were both drawing, at first or second hand, on motifs already familiar in silver-work, pottery, painting and stucco; and it is to the stuccoes of the tomb of the Valerii on the Via Latina (p. 17) and floor-mosaics (p. 17) that we have to turn for instances of the peopled scroll in second-century Rome, after it had, for a while, passed out of fashion in architectural sculpture.

Geographically the peopled scroll illustrates strikingly the diversity within unity of the decorative art of the Imperial age. It is evident that in many respects the Eastern Mediterranean retained under the Empire a certain priority of invention and of stylistic practice. From the fourth century B.C. onwards some of the motifs under discussion had been established in the West, in South Italy. But for all the relatively high proportion of surviving material from Italy and from the western provinces, there are many gaps in the continuity which can hardly be explained except in terms of a continuously developing tradition elsewhere. The history of the peopled acanthus-scroll in Rome during the second century and under the Severi affords an instructive example of the influences at work. After the first enthusiasm for the motif had spent itself under Domitian, it vanished from the public monuments of Rome and Italy for nearly a hundred years. There is no trace of it on Trajan's arch at Beneventum or on either of the two Severan arches in Rome, or on any extant state-building in Italy during the intervening period. When at length it was revived, in the early years of the third century, it was as the result of two converging, but distinct, impulses. The one was the deliberate reversion on the Palatine to motifs established in Rome a century before, under the Flavians. The other was the impact on the capital of models drawn from the Roman East and, specifically, from Asia Minor. From the point of view of the traditions of relief-sculpture established in the capital during the latter part of the second century, the new, two-dimensional, black-and-white treatment of relief, which these east-Roman models embodied, appears as something of a stylistic revolution. Viewed in its own context at Aphrodisias,

it is seen to be the product of a process of evolution, achieved gradually during the course of the preceding century.

It is significant that the sculptors of Aphrodisias were employed to decorate the official buildings of Lepcis Magna (pp. 37–8) a decade or so before their work (or the work of craftsmen from related centres) found its way to Rome in sufficient quantities to affect the stylistic traditions of the capital. Indeed it seems likely (p. 40) that, already during the second century, there were direct contacts between Asia Minor and Tripolitania, at a time when, with the solitary exception of the two pilasters at Naples (p. 35), there is no trace of such influence in the peopled scrolls of Italy. The popularity in Gaul of the vine-scroll, a predominantly east-Roman motif with a limited and, on the whole, late incidence in Italy, may well be attributable to similar contacts (p. 28). The regionalism of provincial Roman art not infrequently found expression in such inter-provincial relationships, which cut across the conventional distinction of East and West, and add yet another complicating factor to an already complex picture.

But, for all its complexity, the most striking impression conveyed by this survey of the peopled scroll in Roman art is that of the unflagging tenacity of the main established versions throughout Imperial times. If its incidence and the distribution of its varying modes were far from uniform, some of them were always somewhere to be found. It experienced some radical transformations in style and technique during the course of centuries, but its distinctive forms remained unchanged. They are the same on Tiberian pottery, in Neronian painting and in Flavian sculpture as on the fourth-century silver vessels from the treasure of Traprain Law and on the ivory throne of Maximian. With their perennial power to engage the eye and charm the fancy they passed as a treasured legacy from Graeco-Roman art to the medieval world.

J. M. C. Toynbee and J. B. Ward Perkins

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C. FONTEIUS CAPITO AND THE *LIBRI TAGETICI*

LYDUS quotes a Capito three times,[1] a Fonteius four times,[2] Capito and Fonteius together twice,[3] and adds that they were contemporaries of Varro and Sallust. He calls Capito a ἱερεύς, makes him an interpreter of the Etruscan Tages, and attributes a few oracles to him as well as some calendary matter. He calls Fonteius a Ῥωμαῖος, refers to his oracles, his interpretation of the Etruscan discipline and his work περὶ ἀγαλμάτων, and gives his 'Tonitruale' in Greek translation. Modern scholars identify Capito with the antiquarian Sinnius or the jurist Ateius Capito, and they assign Fonteius to the imperial period but leave him unidentified.[4] There is nothing in the texts to support these suggestions. My conjecture is that we have to deal with one man, C. Fonteius Capito, who was 'ad unguem factus homo, Antoni, non ut magis alter, amicus' (Hor. *Sat.* 1, 5, 32 f.).[5] Born c. 80, he became pontifex apparently after 44, when, with the help of Antony, Lepidus was elected pontifex maximus. He soon received another office from Antony—according to Groag that of a tribune—and went with him to the East. These facts emerge from an (unpublished) inscription from Cos, of c. 39, which calls him a ἱερεύς and records that, on his request, the rule of Antony was accepted on Cos. His role in the reconciliation between Antony and Octavian in 37 was certainly greater than that of a delightful companion and host in Horace's *Iter Brundisinum* would suggest. He was in the same year in the East again to accompany Cleopatra from Egypt to Syria, where she was to meet Antony (Plut. *Ant.* 36, 1); and he was *consul suffectus* in 33.[6] Münzer suggests that he was the son of C. Fonteius, the legate of M. Fonteius in Gaul (Cic. *Font.* 18), and the father of the consul of A.D. 12.

My conjecture demands that τε . . . καὶ in the two passages where the two names occur together and that the reference ἐξ ὧν (instead of ἐξ οὗ) in the second should be ignored as *lapsus* either of the author or of a scribe.[7] It is supported by the following. Fonteius was in fact called Capito and was (what cannot be said of Ateius Capito or Sinnius Capito) a pontifex and contemporary of Varro. It was Lydus' habit to use alternative names: he quotes Nigidius three times and Figulus twice, Δίων ὁ Ῥωμαῖος once and another time Κοκκήιος, also Πλούταρχος and then ὁ Χαιρωνεύς. There is also some internal evidence. Both Fonteius and Capito are quoted for much the same matter: oracles, Etruscan doctrines, calendary questions. I could end here by saying that it does not mean much to ascribe a few casual fragments to a little known personality,

[1] *De ost.* 2, p. 7, 8; *de mens.* frg. 6, p. 180; on the third passage see below n. 8 (the references are to the editions of Wachsmuth and Wünsch respectively).

[2] *De ost.* 39–46, p. 88 ff.; *de mens.* 4, 2, p. 65, 3; 4, 80, p. 132, 15; frg. 7, p. 180, 10.

[3] *De ost.* 3, p. 8, 24; *de mens.* 1, 37, p. 16, 27 = *de mag.* p. 1, 12.

[4] Cf. Wachsmuth, *de ost.* p. xxiv ff.; Kappelmacher, *RE* 6, 2842; Teuffel-Kroll 1[6], 347; Stein, *PIR*[2], 3, 196 (no. 463). Traube's (*Varia libamina critica* 1883, 37) reference to Fonteius of Carthage, a Neoplatonist and Christian, who wrote 'de mente mundanda ad videndum deum' (August. *Retract.* 1, 26; *div. quaest.* 12 = *Opp.* 1, 624; 6, 14 Migne) did not find any acceptance.

[5] Cf. Münzer, *RE* 6, 2847; *Suppl.* 3, 528; Groag, *PIR*[2], 3, 197 (no. 469).

[6] Cf. *Fasti Venus.*, *CIL* I[2], p. 66 = Degrassi, p. 254 f.; 283; Mancini, *Bull. comun.* 65, 1935, 59.

[7] The suggestion as to the identity of Fonteius with C. Fonteius Capito does not depend on these changes; only a second Capito would have to be found should they be rejected.

interesting as it is to learn that the intimate friend of Antony was a man of letters. But what he was is more important than who he was: we know so little about the pre-Augustan antiquarians that we must not miss an opportunity if we can get hold of some fragments belonging to that period.

(1) Numa borrowed the insignia of the magistrates from the Etruscans and the weapons from the Celts, according to Fonteius, Varro and Sallust in 'Book i of the Histories' (*de mens.* 1, 37 = *de mag.* prooem.).

(2) The beginning of the day in Babylon, Umbria, Athens and Rome is discussed in *de mens.* 2, 2; a more complete version of this chapter, preserved by Anastasius of Sinai, gives as source Capito and Labeo.[8] This subject was treated by Cicero in *de auguriis*, written after 51 B.C. (Serv. *Aen.* 5, 738) and by Varro in his *Antiquitates rerum humanarum*; a direct excerpt from the latter is found in Gell. 3, 2, 2 ff. and, somewhat shortened, in Macrob. 1, 3, 2.

(3) Fonteius identified Maia with the earth and explained the festival of the 1st of May by saying that the earth makes its warmth appear in this month (*de mens.* 4, 80). Macrobius 1, 13, 16 ff. gives a related and much ampler account of this, and it is significant that he quotes Cornelius Labeo twice.

(4) The fragment from *de simulacris* (περὶ ἀγαλμάτων) explained Ianus as the god of time and the twelve altars at his temple with the twelve months (*de mens.* 4, 2).[9] Macrobius 1, 9, 16 quotes Varro for the same lore, and both attributions are, no doubt, correct. But I believe that Fonteius' share in the Lydus-chapter is larger and comprises all descriptions of statues, that is, the figure of Ianus with a key in his right hand, another figure showing with its fingers the number 365, and also the description of Ianus Quadrifrons. In other chapters too, there are similar descriptions which would have their proper place in a work *de simulacris*. The title is rare: besides Fonteius, only Porphyry and Iamblichus devoted a special work to this subject. This does not mean that Fonteius was a pioneer. The problem of images was thoroughly discussed in Greek philosophy,[10] and the descriptive matter too was presented, e.g. in the work of Apollodorus περὶ θεῶν.[11] Yet Fonteius must have been inspired by contemporary debates of the kind that made Varro say that Roman religion originally knew no images and would have remained purer without them.[12] At the same time, there was a need to supplement the Greek collections with Roman matter, and Fonteius and Varro responded to this need. It is known that here Lydus closely agrees with Porphyry and Macrobius, and also, that he as well as Macrobius must have had a Roman source for the Roman images not treated by Porphyry. This source seems to have been Cornelius Labeo who, in turn, depended on Fonteius and Varro.

(5) Fonteius' name is further connected with the dissemination of the story of Tages (*de ost.* 2 f., p. 7, 7 ff.): how Tages emerged from the earth when Tarchon was ploughing, revealed to the latter the Etruscan discipline, and disappeared. This was, as the close analogy of the alleged books of Numa, found in his tomb in 181 B.C., shows, an old

[8] Cf. R. Schöne, *Festschr. f. Hirschfeld* 1903, 327 ff.; Cumont, *Byz. Zeitschr.* 30, 1929/30, 31 f.; id. *Mélanges P. Thomas* 1930, 152 ff. The text contains Κάτων: Καπίτων is a convincing conjecture of Cumont's.

[9] This doctrine was analysed by Reitzenstein, *Das iranische Erlösungsmysterium* 213.

[10] Cf. Geffcken, *Arch. Rel. Wiss.* 19, 1916-19, 286 ff.; B. v. Borries, *Quid veteres philosophi de idolatria senserint*, Göttingen, 1918; E. Bevan, *Holy Images* 1940, 63 ff.

[11] Cf. Reinhardt, *De Graecorum theologia* 1910, 94 ff.; *FGrHist.* 244 F 88 ff. Jacoby.

[12] *Ant. rer. div.* 1, frg. 59 Ag. (Aug. *CD.* 4, 31); cf. Plut. *Numa* 8; Borries 54 ff.; Theiler, *Die Vorbereitung des Neuplatonismus*, 1930, 102.

story; but it was, no doubt, used to lend authenticity to recent apocryphal writings, comparable to those of 'Orpheus' or 'Hermes'. The principal propagator of such texts in Rome was Tarquitius Priscus early in the first century B.C.[13] who was, as Lydus seems to suggest, also the source of Fonteius.

(6) The institution of the Vestal Virgins for the care of the eternal fire is recorded in *de mens.* frg. 6, p. 180 with the following reference to the source: κεῖνται δὲ τοῖς βουλομένοις τὰ λόγια παρὰ Τάγητι καὶ Καπίτωνι καὶ Πίσωνι. Piso's share may have been the simple recording of the facts, just as they were also given by Verrius Flaccus (see Paul. Fest. 106 M. = 94 L.). The λόγια may belong to Fonteius alone, as the reference to Tages need not mean more than that Fonteius quoted the authority of Tages; but their occurrence in this context is not quite clear: oracles scarcely discussed antiquarian matter for its own sake. I suggest that the aim of Fonteius was to say (what is missing in Lydus) that the extinction of the fire was a prodigy; [14] and he may have described the consequences in an apocalyptic style.

(7) An oracle was once given to Romulus, predicting that Fortune would desert the Romans should they forget their native idiom (*de mens.* frg. 7, p. 180, 10; cf. *de mag.* 2, 12; 3, 42). What does this mean? It became, from the Catilinarian period onwards, a frequent topic of oracles to predict the destruction of Rome and its empire. But normally the signs of the coming end were, besides heavenly phenomena, moral decay, civil war, hunger and pestilence: there is no parallel to our passage.[15] 'Forgetting' means of course speaking Greek, and the view springs from the animosity of the Romans in face of the Greek cultural superiority. But it will not suffice to recall the old-fashioned Romans who, like Cato, refused to learn Greek, or the Roman provincial administration which insisted on Latin as the official language: I cannot see how an occasional infringement of this principle could have become an apocalyptic sign of ruin. What is necessary is that the idea of the greatness and mission of Rome should be present in the people's mind. Had there not been such an idea in the political sphere, the plans, for instance, of Caesar and Antony to transfer the capital to Troy or Alexandria would not have provoked opposition and oracles. The expansion of Latin all over the empire may have been appreciated earlier, but a doctrine and a challenge to the Greeks could not have been made of it before Cicero. Owing to Cicero there was some justification in proclaiming 'ut (Roma) insolentis Graeciae studia tanto antecederet eloquentia quanto fortuna' (Sen. *Suas.* 7, 10); [16] and then it became also possible to say that Latin as the universal language was a blessing to mankind.[17] This is, I think, the spiritual climate that made Fonteius produce the oracle of Romulus, but I cannot suggest anything about its immediate cause.

(8) The principal piece is the 'Tonitruale'. To form a view about it, it will be convenient to quote the beginning (*de ost.* p. 88, 13): 'The Moon in Capricorn. If it thunders in daytime, a tyrant will arise in the countries from the Narrow (= Red?) Sea to the Nile but will fail in his undertaking. There will be shortage, especially in provisions. The Nile will subside, children will disagree with their parents, and there will be trouble in some districts with the rulers. The Persians and the nations of Western

[13] Cf. Kroll, *RE* 4A, 2392 ff.

[14] See Livy 28, 11, 6 f. (206 B.C.); Obs. 8 (178 B.C.).

[15] Lydus' view that the oracle was fulfilled in an incident in Constantinople in the fifth century (*de mag.* 2, 12; 3, 42) is irrelevant for the question of its origin.

[16] Cf. L. Hahn, *Rom u. Romanismus* 107.

[17] Cf. Varro *ap.* Aug. *CD.* 19, 7; Pliny 3, 39; Fuchs *Augustin u. der antike Friedensgedanke*, 1926, 11 f.

Europe will lead a careless life.[18] If it thunders at night, barbarian races will attack one another, and those (or the foundations) of the Roman peace (τὰ τῆς Ῥωμαικῆς εἰρήνης) will be shaken because of some doctrines (or decrees: δογμάτων ἕνεκα); the enemies will occupy some districts of the state for a short period. Rulers will appear from the West and conduct the public affairs in a lawless way. Most people will be unhappy, the storms of the winter severe, and there will be shipwrecks and perilous tossing of the sea.' The first impression is that these predictions are far too momentous and numerous for a Lunarium: the Moon spends only $2\frac{1}{3}$ days in Capricorn; moreover, a Lunarium should begin with Aries, not with Capricorn. But if we substitute the Sun for the Moon, the difficulty disappears. Sun in Capricorn means January, which proves that the original was arranged for the Roman year, and the prognostics were then to cover a month, not just a few days.[19] Next we observe that the geographical references in the text point to Egypt as the country of origin, and this does not favour the authorship of Fonteius. The disagreement between parents and children are reminiscent of biblical phrases, see Mk. 13, 12; compare also the sentence p. 89, 16 καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐλάττονες τὰς τύχας ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον ἀναπασθήσονται, οἱ δὲ μείζουςἐ πὶ τὸ χεῖρον ἐκπεσοῦνται with Mt. 23, 12 [19a]. The reference to the *Pax Romana* is not less puzzling: as a territorial and political term it was not yet used at the time of Fonteius. Then, there is the expression δογμάτων ἕνεκα: it need not be Christian,[20] but it is strange. The rulers from the West are no doubt the Romans but the reference is too vague to point to a definite historical event. Most of these curiosities carry less weight than at first appears. It is known that astrometeorological divination uses on the one hand a common stock of amazing constancy: Bezold and Boll found much, sometimes verbal, agreement between cuneiform texts and the excerpts of Lydus; on the other hand it is exposed to continuous transformations and additions so that we need not claim for Fonteius in our text more than a nucleus. But the difficulty caused by the Egyptian 'scenery' is serious and found its partial explanation when Boll published a related text under the name of Hermes Trismegistos and concluded that the two texts must depend on a common, Egyptian, source.[21]

This Egyptian relation is a problem which our text has in common with other texts attributed by Lydus to Roman authors. Examining these texts,[22] we notice that the 'Tonitruale' of Vicellius (an unknown writer who must have lived after Ptolemy) is connected with the Egyptians (*de ost.* p. 56, 18 ff.), his Seismology, which is similar in character, claims to be a translation from a poem of Tages (p. 110, 6); [23] the Calendar of Clodius Tuscus is, according to Lydus p. 157, 18, translated from Etruscan, but we

[18] I read with the Hermetic text (see below) ἀμεριμνήσουσιν instead of ἠρεμήσουσιν of the MSS. of Lydus.

[19] It is possible that the original 'Tonitruale' consisted, like that in *CCAG* 7, 164 ff. of two, solar and lunar, parts, the former having been omitted by later scribes. It is further possible that at a still earlier stage the prognostics covered a year each, that is to say, they were devised for a period of twelve years, a '*dodecaeteris Chaldaica*'; see also n. 21.

[19a] This topic is of course at home everywhere, see e.g. Horace's *obscura promens* (*carm.* 1, 34, 14) and the passages collected by Keller and Holder *ad loc.*

[20] Boll, *Aus der Offenbarung Johannis* 135.

[21] *CCAG* 7, 226 ff.; Boll-Bezold, 'Reflexe astrologischer Keilinschriften bei griechischen Schriftstellern,' *Sitz.-Ber. Heidelberg* 1911, 7. *Abh.*, 8; Festugière, *La révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste* 1, 109 f. Boll found later (*Aus der Offenbarung Johannis* 96) traces of this Egyptian original in the *dodecaeteris* of the Apocalypse of Baruch 27 (c. A.D. 100) and in the description of the four horsemen in the Apocalypse of St. John; but his suggestions were not well received by the commentators.

[22] Cf. Boll-Bezold l.c. 5 ff.

[23] That the Seismology of Tages was versified is not incredible: we possess such a poem περὶ σεισμῶν under the name of Hermes Trismegistos and Orpheus (frg. 285 K.). There is another reference to the σεισμοκοπικά of Tages in *de mens.* 4, 79 (p. 131, 24).

know another version of it which appears under the name of Hermes Trismegistos; [24] the anonymous 'Fulgurale', pp. 101–107, probably by Nigidius Figulus,[25] depends, according to p. 95, 16, on Etruscan sources; the 'Tonitruale' of Nigidius Figulus is, as stated in its title, translated from Tages (p. 62, 7). Thus, considering the close association of Fonteius with the works of Tages, we may assume that his source too was Etruscan. This survey leads to two alternatives. One is to ignore all references to the Etruscans, and mostly also to Roman writers, and to attribute the texts where parallels exist to the Egyptians, that is those of Vicellius, Fonteius and Clodius Tuscus. But the principal mark of a forgery is its famous author, Orpheus, Hermes, Hippocrates, Ptolemy: attributions to little known persons must rest on some historical reality. I would prefer, therefore, the other alternative, which is to accept the attributions of Lydus as correct and to attempt to draw the necessary conclusions.

The interest of the Etruscans in Eastern divination, particularly in astrology, was of early origin: it could be shown how much, for instance, their doctrine on lightning was transformed under the influence of Hellenistic science and astrology. It does not therefore seem unlikely that the haruspices, besides modernizing their own doctrines, took advantage of the great interest of the Roman public in astrology—which was not diminished after the expulsion of the Chaldaean astrologers from Rome in 139 B.C. (Livy frg. Oxyrh. 54, p. 143 R.; Val. Max. 1, 3, 3)—and introduced in Rome Greek astrological texts from Egypt disguised as revelations of Tages.[26] We have found (above p. 45 f.) other traces of such manipulations with the name of Tages, and this is why the Tagetic lore consists of most heterogeneous matter (some of it comes e.g. from the Bible),[27] and why, in the doxographical literature of the imperial period, Tages and the Etruscans so often appear side by side with the great spirits of the Greeks and the East. So the astrological forgeries were not isolated. Fonteius, much interested in the Tagetic lore, followed the example of Nigidius Figulus and undertook to re-edit one of those astrological texts, as did later Vicellius and Cornelius Labeo. Nigidius Figulus, an expert in astronomy and astrology, used his Graeco-Etruscan model as a framework and filled it out with references to the political struggle of his time, dispute between Senate and people, victory of Pompey over the pirates, plot of Catiline, struggle between Pompey and Caesar.[28] Fonteius did not perform his task in an intelligent way. Political references do not exist in his text or are not recognizable, and the Egyptian milieu is unchanged.

It is impossible to characterize the writings of Fonteius from these few fragments. Yet we may say that there is nothing in them that would not be possible for an antiquarian of the first century B.C. His interest in both politics and 'occultism' (that is astrology and apocryphal Etruscan matter) reminds us of Nigidius Figulus. He contributed much to the popularity of Tages in Rome, and did this with the help of the writings of Tarquitius Priscus. As an antiquarian, he is closely related to Varro; but the question of priority or common source must be left undecided. It seems that some of

[24] Cf. L. Bianchi, 'Der Kalender des sog. Clodius Tuscus', *Sitz.-Ber. Heidelberg* 1914, 3. *Abh.*, 8; 22.

[25] Cf. Bezold-Boll, l.c. 11, 2; Boll, *Aus der Offenbarung Johannis* 11, 1; Kroll, *RE* 17, 209; Wachsmuth p. xxx attributed this text to Cornelius Labeo with no sufficient justification.

[26] In addition to the texts mentioned above there is a fragment on astrological ethnography under the name of Tages in *de mens.* frg. 2, p. 178, 15.

[27] Cf. Lact. Plac. *Stat. Theb.* 4, 516; Suid. s.v. Τυρρηνία; Bidez-Cumont, *Les Mages hellénisés* 1, 227 ff.

[28] For references see above n. 25.

his writings still existed in the third century: the frequent occurrence of the name of Cornelius Labeo in these and related passages indicates that it was he to whom Lydus owes his little knowledge of Fonteius. The astrological text may be an exception: it may have been included in miscellaneous astrological manuscripts until Lydus himself or an earlier student of the Etruscan discipline [29] found it when he collected the scattered remains of Etrusco-Roman astrology.

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[29] This was probably Polles of Aigai whom Lydus quotes as one of his principal authorities (*de ost.* 2, p. 6, 25): he wrote, according to Suidas, among other things περὶ τῆς παρὰ Τυρρηνοῖς μαντικῆς. But he is very little known (cf. Lyd. *de ost.* 8; Marin. *v. Procli* 10; Nonn. *in Greg. Naz.* 72 [*Patr. Gr.* 36, 1024]; Suid. s. v. Μελάμπους) and we have no means of dating him.

PAY AND SUPERANNUATION IN THE ROMAN ARMY[1]

THE importance of the Roman army in the social history of the Empire needs no stressing. The financial and, therefore, the social position of the soldier cannot be assessed without an estimate of the pay that he received during service and of the lump-sums or grants of land that he secured on retirement. The conclusions of A. von Domaszewski [2] on this question have hitherto been generally accepted; but, as they have recently been sharply challenged [3] and certainly rest too frequently on ingenious combinations which do not give the certainty claimed for them, it may be convenient to assemble and analyse the evidence once more, even if the conclusions suggested prove to agree in the main with those of Domaszewski. I shall seek to distinguish certainty from probability, and both from mere conjecture.

1. LEGIONARY AND PRAETORIAN PAY TO A.D. 14

According to tradition, pay was first instituted in the Roman army at the time of the war with Veii.[4] Varro states [5] that the *stipendium* was at one time paid for a six-monthly or yearly period; hence of course the derivative use of the word to connote a campaign or a year's service. No doubt the payment covered six months in the earliest times, when fighting was confined to the good season, and a year at a later period, when soldiers were kept under the colours for a continuous term of 12 months. Indeed it is reasonable to suppose that the amount of the *stipendium* varied with the actual time spent in campaigning; not only is it likely a priori that the Republic should have paid less for a campaign that occupied only a few weeks than for one that lasted the whole year, but Polybius clearly shows that in his time the *stipendium* was at least based on a daily rate, even if it was actually paid only once in six or twelve months.

The passage concerned in Polybius [6] is our first evidence for the amount of the *stipendium*. The legionaries, he says, received two obols daily, centurions double, cavalrymen a whole *drachma*. The *stipendium* was not properly a wage but rather compensation for the expenses incurred by the soldier during service, for the cost of the food, clothing and arms supplied by the State was deducted from it; the treble pay of a cavalryman was

[1] I am under heavy obligation to Mr. Hugh Last, who read this paper more than once in manuscript, for many valuable suggestions and corrections.

[2] 'Der Truppensold der Kaiserzeit', *Neue Heidelberger Jahrbücher*, x, 1900, pp. 218–241, supplemented for the pay of *immunes*, *principales* and officers in 'Die Rangordnung des römischen Heeres', *Bonner Jahrbücher*, cxvii, 1908. My obligations to Domaszewski's work are profound and will be evident. I do not deal with the donatives, although they might substantially supplement a soldier's income, since they were irregular in amount and our authorities afford us no means of making a complete statement of them.

[3] A. Passerini, *Le Coorti Pretorie*, Rome, 1939, pp. 100–114; cf. *Athenaeum*, xxiv., 1946, pp. 145–59.

[4] e.g. Diod. xiv. 16, 5, τότε πρώτως ἐπεψηφίσαντο 'Ρωμαῖοι τοῖς στρατιώταις καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν εἰς ἐφόδια διδόναι χρήματα.

[5] *de vita populi Romani' ap.* Non. *p.* 853L, 'stipendium appellabatur quod aes militi semenstre aut annuum dabatur'.

[6] vi. 39, 12, 'οψώνιον δ' οἱ μὲν πέζοι λαμβάνουσι τῆς ἡμέρας δύ' ὀβολούς, οἱ δὲ ταξίαρχοι διπλοῦν, οἱ δ' ἱππεῖς δραχμήν . . . . . (15). τοῖς δὲ 'Ρωμαίοις τοῦ τε σίτου καὶ τῆς ἐσθῆτος, κἂν τινος ὅπλου προσδεηθῶσι, πάντων τούτων ὁ ταμίας τὴν τεταγμένην τιμὴν ἐκ τῶν ὀψωνίων ὑπολογίζεται.

evidently intended to cover the extra cost in respect of his attendant and their horses.[7]

We also know that Scipio Aemilianus instituted pay at $1\frac{1}{2}$ times the rate applicable to the legionary for soldiers serving in the praetorian cohort.[8]

It has generally been assumed that Polybius equated the *drachma* with the *denarius*. The *denarius* was at first divided into 10 *asses*, but at a date assigned by Pliny [9] to the first Punic war and by some modern numismatists to the Gracchan period it became equivalent to 16 *asses*. Pliny, however, states that 'in military pay the *denarius* has always been given in exchange for 10 *asses*.' This is obscure, but seems to mean that the daily rate expressed in *asses* remained nominally the same, but that when the *stipendium* was actually paid the soldier received a *denarius* for every 10 *asses* with which he was credited in the military accounts. Despite Pliny's statement this artificial practice had certainly ceased by A.D. 14, when 10 *asses* a day were equivalent to 225 *denarii* a year ($\frac{10}{16} \times 360$), but we do not know when or by whom it was abolished.

It would thus appear that in Polybius' day the legionary was paid at the daily rate of one third of a *denarius*, i.e. 120 *denarii* for a full year (if, as was the case in A.D. 14, the year was deemed for this purpose to comprise 360 days.) One third of a *denarius* would, on the original tariffing of the *denarius*, be equal to $3\frac{1}{3}$ *asses;* and Pliny shows that even if Polybius wrote before the re-tariffing at 16 *asses* to the *denarius*, the amount drawn by the soldier was unaffected by the currency change. If, however, Mattingly is right in holding that Polybius means by a *drachma* not a *denarius*, but the equivalent of 12 libral *asses*, then the 2 obols with which he equates legionary pay represent two fifths of a *denarius* and the legionary would have received 144 *denarii* in a full year.[10] On the whole this hypothesis seems less likely than the traditional one; Polybius surely converted Roman values into Greek currency of the standard in most common use among his readers throughout the Greek world, and the *drachma* of an Attic standard approximates to the Roman *denarius*. It is true that in one passage [11] Polybius equates half an *as* with a quarter of an obol, but we need not take the equation as exact; it was sufficiently accurate for his readers, even if the real truth was that the half *as* was worth $\frac{3}{10}$ of an obol (with the *denarius* containing 10 *asses*) or $\frac{3}{16}$ (with 16 *asses* to the *denarius*).

There is no record of any increase in legionary pay between Polybius and Caesar. Caesar is said to have 'doubled' it.[12] But in A.D. 14 it stood, according to Tacitus,[13] at 10 *asses* a day; the correctness of this rate and its equivalence to 225 *denarii* a year is borne out by our evidence for the later increase of pay under Domitian (see notes 26 and 28). A reduction by Augustus is unattested and improbable. No difficulty need be felt; the Latin word 'duplicavit' does not necessarily denote multiplication by two, and can quite well refer to the substantial increase from 120 (or even 144) *denarii* to 225.[14] Moreover,

[7] E. Nischer in Kromayer-Veith, *Heerwesen und Kriegführung der Griechen und Römer*, pp. 328–30.

[8] Festus, *s.v.* 'Praetoria cohors' p. 249L, 'Scipio enim Africanus primus fortissimum quemque delegit, qui ab eo in bello non discederent et cetero munere militiae vacarent et sesquiplex stipendium acciperent.'

[9] *N.H.* xxxiii. 44–5, especially 45, 'in militari tamen stipendio semper denarius pro X assibus datus est.' On the date of the currency change cf. Mattingly, *Num. Chron.* 1934, pp. 81 sqq.

[10] *JRS.* xxvii, pp. 101 ff. I am indebted to Dr. J. G. Milne for a helpful discussion of this problem.

[11] Polyb. ii. 15, 6.

[12] Suet. *Div. Iul.*, 26, 3, 'legionibus stipendium in perpetuum duplicavit.'

[13] *Ann.* i. 17, 6, 'denis in diem assibus animam et corpus aestimari.'

[14] Cf. Caes. *BC* iii. 76; after marching a 'iustum iter' Caesar 'duplicato eius itinere VIII milia passuum ex eo loco procedit'. The 'iustum iter' was probably 20 miles, cf. Veg. i. 9; Kubitschek, P-W. ix. 2309 n. 2.

it is a plausible conjecture that it was Caesar who brought to an end the retention in military accounts of a relation between *as* and *denarius* which had long disappeared elsewhere. The legionary was credited with only $3\frac{1}{3}$ *asses* a day, yet these had been worth $5\frac{1}{3}$: if Caesar nominally tripled the *stipendium* by raising it to 10 *asses* but at the same time ended the artificial relation of *as* to *denarius* it was a change which could reasonably be described as a doubling of the *stipendium*.

It may be conjectured that a further change had taken place, perhaps still earlier, in the *method* of paying the soldiers. At Domitian's accession the legionary certainly received his pay in three *stipendia* in the year (see below). In the earliest times, on the other hand, he had received his *stipendium* for six or twelve months' service. This older practice seems, however, to have been already discontinued in Varro's day (see note 5); the soldier was no longer paid only once a year, nor even only once in six months, or twice a year; in all probability the later method of payment in three instalments was already in use. Perhaps it had been introduced by Marius; the proletarians, who were first regularly recruited by him, to serve for a series of campaigns, were probably unwilling to wait for a whole year or even six months before receiving in lump sums what was due to them.

On this reconstruction legionary pay amounted most probably to 120 *denarii* before Caesar and was raised by Caesar to 225. Very different is Domaszewski's account, according to which legionary pay amounted to 75 *denarii* before Caesar and was successively raised by Caesar and Augustus to 150 and 225 *denarii*. This account is based on three dubious assumptions.

In the first place Domaszewski supposed that, at some time after Polybius wrote, the legionary, who had previously had to bear the cost of his food, clothes and arms, was allowed to compound for food at a sum that left him 75 *denarii* out of 120; the praetorian similarly retained 125 out of 180. His reconstruction thus requires us to believe that from the late Republic the soldier no longer had to pay for his food. But though certainty is unattainable, the balance of evidence seems to be against this view. There is no express record of any general change in the system described by Polybius before the third century A.D. Caesar, indeed, does seem to have provided food gratuitously *at times*. Thus Suetonius tells us in one passage [15] that whenever the supply was good he provided grain even in excess of normal rations, and in another [16] that, when he crossed the Rubicon, all his soldiers gave their services without receiving grain and pay, a statement that suggests that at least during the Gallic campaigns they had been accustomed to draw free rations as well as pay. But we cannot infer from this that free rations had become a rightful emolument of all Roman legionaries. Gaul could doubtless supply ample quantities of grain for which Caesar is unlikely normally to have paid, and as he had the strongest motive for binding the soldiers to himself, he would naturally let them benefit from this. The grant to a cohort which especially distinguished itself in the civil war of free grain as well as double pay and other honours rather suggests that even in Caesar's army soldiers might still be required to pay for their own provisions.[17] In Africa requisitioning was not practised and the troops ran short of supplies of all kinds because

[15] *Div. Iul.* 26, 3, 'frumentum quotiens copia esset etiam sine modo mensuraque praebuit ac singula interdum mancipia et praedia viritim dedit.'

[16] *Ib.* 68, 1, '(optulerunt) milites gratuitam et sine frumento stipendioque operam.'

[17] *BC* iii. 53, 5, 'cohortemque postea duplici stipendio, frumento veste, cibariis militaribusque donis amplissime donavit.'

of the high price of grain; this again indicates that they had to pay for it themselves.[18] Similarly the soldiers of Antony and Octavian at Philippi suffered not merely because food was short but also from its dearness, a fact which could not have affected them if free rations had been issued.[19] But the Triumvirs were hardly in a position to withdraw from men on whose uncertain loyalty their lives depended a very considerable part of the normal emoluments of Roman soldiers. It looks, therefore, as if legionaries were not entitled to free rations even at the end of the Republican period, and Domaszewski's theory thus breaks down on this point, whatever be the truth about the Imperial army. Here the evidence may be diversely interpreted. The fact that praetorians were obliged to purchase their own food from the public granaries before Nero [20] may be adduced both for and against the view that legionaries were still required to pay for their own food. On the one hand we can argue that praetorians are unlikely to have been treated less favourably than other soldiers, on the other hand that it may have been in part because they, unlike legionaries, had to pay for their food, that they received a *stipendium* so much greater.[21] Again pay accounts of soldiers in Egypt show that stoppages for food were regularly made from the *stipendium* of an unit stationed there,[22] but, though this unit almost certainly consisted of legionaries,[23] there is other evidence suggesting that Egyptian legionaries were not always accorded their full rights (see below) and we cannot argue with entire safety from their condition to that of all legionaries, wherever stationed. Finally the fact that Tacitus mentions stoppages for arms, clothing and tents but not for food among the grievances of the mutineers of A.D. 14 [24] has often been taken as proof that the legionaries no longer had to pay for their food. Such is undoubtedly the most natural interpretation of his silence but it is not the necessary one. We can perhaps discount the possibility that Tacitus would have failed to mention a demand of such financial significance to State and soldier alike, that the cost of army rations should be shifted from the individual legionaries to the treasury. Yet, even if no such demand was made, we cannot conclude with certainty that the cost was already borne by the treasury. Stoppages for arms, clothing and tents would be made at irregular intervals and would involve large sums, and the soldier would be less able to budget for them because they depended not on his judgement of what was required but on the hated centurion's.[25] The regular payments for rations may have been thus less severely felt, and they must have been diminished in so far as armies lived off enemy territory. In the years preceding A.D. 14 both the armies of Rhine and Danube may have been fortunate in this respect. It seems to me improbable that the Roman soldier was relieved before the third century of a liability that he appears still to have borne at the end of the Republic.

[18] *Bell. Afr.* 47, 4, 'In Africa autem non modo sibi quicquam non adquisierant aut paraverant sed etiam propter annonae caritatem ante parta consumpserant.'

[19] App. *BC* iv. 117, 493, περί τε ἀπορίας σίτου καὶ ἐπιτιμήσεως αὐτοῦ κτλ.

[20] Tac. *Ann.* xv. 72, 1; Suet. *Nero*, 10.

[21] It may be suggested that administrative convenience would account for the different treatment on this hypothesis accorded to praetorians and legionaries. In the provinces the Government had in any case to organize the supply of food for the troops; at Rome they could draw on the supply brought in for the capital. It might have appeared simpler in the latter case to let them buy in the market and pay them proportionately more, while in the former it was easier not to charge for the rations issued, instead of making deductions from an increased rate of pay.

[22] *P. Gen. Lat.* 1.

[23] Doubted by Johnson, *Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*, 2, p. 670 but, as pointed out by Premerstein, *Klio*, iii. p. 2 the soldiers concerned bear the three *nomina* and the same papyrus contains other documents undoubtedly referring to a legion.

[24] *Ann.* i. 17, 6.

[25] Veg. ii. 14.

The second assumption made by Domaszewski concerned the method by which pay was from time to time increased. He supposed that this was not done by increasing the amount of each instalment but by adding on each occasion a further instalment. Thus Suetonius means not simply that Caesar 'doubled' pay but that he instituted a second annual instalment equivalent to the first. It was this hypothesis that led Domaszewski to propose 75 *denarii* as the amount of the *stipendium* received by the legionary after the assumed composition for the cost of food had been made in the period between Polybius and Caesar. Caesar thus raised the total pay to only 150 *denarii*, and Domaszewski is obliged to assume a further increase by Augustus to bring it up to the 225 *denarii* at which it stood in A.D. 14; of this more later. He holds that Domitian added another instalment, again of 75 *denarii*, and Commodus a fifth. This theory requires us to believe that after Caesar the soldier was paid twice a year, i.e. once every six months, although Varro (see note 5) seems to imply that this was no longer the case in his day. Further it involves the inherent improbabilities (a) that before Caesar the proletarian soldier was content to receive his pay only once a year; (b) that on each occasion when it was found necessary to increase the rate of pay a change in the method of payment was also made. Only with Severus, according to Domaszewski, did the figure of 75 *denarii* lose its magic for the imperial administration; thenceforth pay consisted in five *stipendia*, each of 100 *denarii*. But what is the evidence? It is no more than Suetonius' phrase that Domitian 'gave an additional fourth *stipendium* to the soldier of 75 *denarii*'.[26] Now we know from an Egyptian papyrus [27] that before Domitian the soldier was paid in three annual instalments; and each of these should have consisted of 75 *denarii*. It looks as if Domitian did add a new instalment. But this is contradicted by Dio, who states that, whereas the soldier had previously received 75 *denarii*, thenceforth he received 100.[28] And Dio seems to be confirmed by a papyrus that shows a soldier still drawing pay in three instalments apparently after the increase.[29] Surely then Suetonius is saying rather carelessly that Domitian gave his troops the *equivalent* of a fourth *stipendium*.

In the third place Domaszewski assumed, as we have seen, an increase of one third in army pay under Augustus. To explain why this is nowhere mentioned in the sources, he assigned this increase to the period after 6 B.C. when the full text of Dio fails us. But is it credible that no mention should be made of such an increase in the extant extract of Dio recording the institution in A.D. 5 of the permanent system of *praemia* and of the *aerarium militare* to bear the heavy new cost which they involved?[30] If army pay had recently been increased by one third, it would no doubt help to explain the lack of funds of which Augustus then complained,[31] but, if this had been the reason, Dio would surely have referred to it in a passage where he introduces so much other less relevant information about the army. The state of the imperial finances makes it most improbable that army pay was raised after A.D. 5. Further, if the government had raised army pay not long before A.D. 14, it would surely have taken credit for doing so in answering the mutineers' demand for an increase,[32] and Tacitus would have mentioned this.

[26] *Dom.* 7, 3, 'addidit et quartum stipendium militi, aureos ternos.'

[27] *P. Gen. Lat.* 1, cf. p. 59 below.

[28] Dio, lxvii. 3, 5 = Zon. xi. 19, πέντε γὰρ καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα δραχμὰς ἑκάστου λαμβάνοντος, ἕκατον ἐκέλευσε δίδοσθαι.

[29] *P. Gen. Lat.* 4, probably referring to legionary pay after the increase, shows three equal instalments each of 297 silver *drachmae*; on the amount cf. p. 59 below.

[30] Dio, lv. 23–25.

[31] ἀπορῶν χρημάτων, Dio, lv. 24, 9.

[32] Tac. *Ann.* i. 17. The demand for an increase to one *denarius* a day was not pressed.

These three difficulties appear decisive against a theory for which there is no positive evidence.[33]

As to praetorian pay, if the legionary before Caesar received 120 *denarii* a year, the pay of the soldier in the praetorian cohort amounted to 180. Caesar no doubt substantially increased this, perhaps even more than he increased legionary pay. It may be that he left it at 375 *denarii*, which Augustus then doubled to 750; this is conjecture.

Augustus is indeed recorded in 27 B.C. to have given the praetorians double what the legionaries received.[34] This would seem to mean that they drew 450 *denarii*, not, as Passerini says (*Coorti Pretorie*, p. 105), 480, since the legionary's pay had not been precisely doubled from its old rate of 120. But Tacitus states that they drew 'binos denarios' daily in A.D. 14, i.e. 720 *denarii* a year.[35] Domaszewski was surely right in thinking that Dio misunderstood his authority and that what Augustus really did in 27 B.C. was to 'double' the existing rate of pay of praetorian soldiers. Tacitus' 'binos denarios' should, however, probably be understood as only a rough description of the facts; Domaszewski was again almost certainly right in holding that the praetorian received 750, not 720, *denarii* at Augustus' death. Among his legacies Augustus left 75 *denarii* to each legionary and 250 to each praetorian.[36] It is natural to think that the proportion of these legacies to the pay of the soldier in question was the same in each case. It follows from this that the praetorian drew 750 a year. The same process of reasoning leads us to attribute to the soldiers of the urban cohorts, who received 125 *denarii* as legacy, pay of 375, and to those of the *vigiles* and the *cohortes civium Romanorum* (who were probably slaves and freedmen recruited during the great emergencies of the Pannonian revolt and the defeat of Varus)[37] the same pay as the legionaries, since they received the same legacy. Passerini (*Coorti Pretorie*, p. 108) finds this supposition difficult, but if Augustus was prepared to leave them an equal legacy with the legionaries, why should he have denied them equal pay? In relation to other auxiliaries one distinction was little more invidious than the other. Indeed in the emergencies of A.D. 6 and 9 Augustus needed willing soldiers and was in no position to haggle about terms; in A.D. 14 it would have been safer to be parsimonious and to have denied them equality of treatment with other citizen soldiers.

Domaszewski has shown that the donatives received by the praetorians on various occasions often stand in simple relations to the rate of pay here accepted as correct. But this does little or nothing to reinforce the conclusion. The donatives are always good round sums such as 3,750 *denarii* given by Claudius and Nero.[38] The choice of such a sum

[33] Domaszewski adduced a further argument from the *praemia* fixed by Augustus in A.D. 5. Holding that they were fixed when the legionary's rate was 150 *denarii* and the praetorian's 500 he explains the *praemia* as respectively 20 × 150 and 10 × 500. But there seems no sufficient reason why the government should have chosen to give the praetorian a gratuity fixed at only ten times his annual rate of pay when they fixed that of the legionary at twenty times his rate. The relation is roughly that which had originally existed between legionary and praetorian rates of pay; probably the same proportion had been observed in granting parcels of land or money in lieu thereof, and this proportion had not been disturbed in respect of such grants even after the increase of praetorian pay.

[34] Dio, liii. 11, 5, καὶ παραυτίκα γε τοῖς δορυφορήσουσιν αὐτὸν διπλάσιον τὸν μισθὸν τοῦ τοῖς ἄλλοις στρατιώταις διδομένου ψηφισθῆναι διεπράξετο.

[35] *Ann*, i. 17.

[36] *Ib.* i. 8: Suet. *Div. Aug.* 101.

[37] Suet. *Div. Aug.* 25, 2, supported by Dio, lv. 31, 1; Vell. ii. 111, 1 for the first occasion (A.D. 7.), Dio, lvi. 23, 3 for the second (A.D. 9.). Cf. Macr. *Sat.* i, 11, 32, 'Caesar Augustus in Germania et Illyrico cohortes libertinorum complures legit, quas voluntarias appellavit.'

[38] Suet. *Div. Claud.* 10, 4. (Jos. *A.J.* xix. 247, gives 5,000). For Nero, Tac. *Ann.* xii, 69; Dio, lxi. 3, 1. After the increase of pay by Domitian, Marcus Aurelius and Verus gave only 3,000, according to Dio, lxxiii. 8, 4 (though SHA. *Ant. Philos.* 7, 9 gives 5,000); Pertinax, however, promised only 3,000 (Dio, lxxiv. 1, 8, 4); thus throughout the first two centuries the donatives do not appear to have stood in any permanently fixed relation to pay. Cf. what is

does not need explaining and is not explained by its being fifteen times a *stipendium* of 250 *denarii;* in each case the Emperor gave what he reckoned he could afford, often rather more.

II. LEGIONARY AND PRAETORIAN PAY FROM A.D. 14 TO CARACALLA

Domitian increased the pay of the legionaries by one third, making it 300 *denarii* (see above, with notes 26 and 28). It is incredible that the praetorians, on whom the Emperor depended for his personal security, should not have received an increase on the same scale as the legionaries. It is safe to assume that all branches of the service benefited equally. Thus praetorians now drew 1,000 *denarii*, soldiers of the urban cohorts 500.[39]

Domaszewski inferred that the pay of praetorians had been increased to 1,250 *denarii* before A.D. 193, since it was by just that amount that Didius Julianus outbid his opponent in his final and successful offer of a donative to get praetorian support.[40] More likely Julianus thought that it would be tactically wise (as often at an auction) to raise his bid by a large amount at once (οὐκέτι κατ' ὀλίγον) instead of by small additions which might insensibly tempt his competitor to continue bidding. The fact that the legions received the name 'Commodiana' is inadequate supporting evidence for the conjecture of an increase in rates of pay by Commodus.

If the hypothesis of an increase in army pay between Domitian and Severus were accepted, it would be hard to find an Emperor to whom greater expenditure could more appropriately be attributed than Commodus. Marcus Aurelius' rejection of the demand for a donative on the ground that the requisite money could be found only by oppressive taxation [41] would have applied a fortiori to a demand for increased pay; and here as elsewhere his policy was no doubt traditional and typical of all the Emperors from Nerva. Further the salaries paid to equestrian officials in the second century seem to stand in relation to the rates of pay as fixed by Domitian (cf. p. 69 below). Again the inflation already apparent under Commodus is naturally to be connected with an increase in army pay, either as its cause or effect.[42] But Herodian states not only that Severus raised army pay, but also that he was first to do so, and, though this statement is obviously inaccurate in the sense that it ignores the increases granted by Domitian and, for that matter, Caesar, it is a plausible contention, made by Passerini, that Herodian would not have overlooked an increase under Commodus. Thus the arguments in favour of such an increase have no weight, and direct testimony is against the hypothesis.[43]

An increase in army pay under Severus is certain: how large, we do not know.

said of Severus below. Passerini, *Athenaeum*, xxiv, p. 155, points out that Macrinus promised 5,000 *denarii* to his troops and that this sum is not a multiple of the annual pay of 750 *denarii* proposed by Domaszewski (and accepted below), Dio, lxxviii. 34, 1.

[39] Domaszewski's calculation of the distribution of the 100,000 *denarii* which Hadrian gave to the urban plebs and the Army on the occasion of the adoption of L. Aelius Caesar is too highly conjectural to be of any value in supporting these conclusions.

[40] Dio, lxxiv. 11, 5, κἂν ἐπεκράτησεν ὁ Σουλπικιανὸς . . . . . τὰς πεντακισχιλίας πρότερος ὀνομάσας, εἰ μὴ ὁ Ἰουλιανὸς οὐκέτι κατ' ὀλίγον ἀλλὰ χιλίαις καὶ διακοσίαις καὶ πεντήκοντα ἅμα δραχμαῖς ὑπερέβαλε.

[41] Dio, lxxi. 3, 3.

[42] Cf. Heichelheim, *Klio*, xxxvi. p. 105.

[43] Passerini, *loc. cit.*; Hdn., iii. 8, 4, τοῖς τε στρατιώταις ἐπέδωκε χρήματα πλεῖστα ἄλλα τε πολλὰ συνεχώρησεν ἃ μὴ πρότερον εἶχον καὶ γὰρ σιτηρέσιον πρῶτος ηὔξησεν αὐτοῖς καὶ δακτυλίοις χρυσοῖς χρήσασθαι γυναιξί τε συνοικεῖν. I agree with Passerini that σιτηρέσιον must refer to *stipendium* and not *annona*, as again iv. 4, 6. An increase in pay under Severus is confirmed by *ILS.* 2438, 2445, 9099, 9100 (dedications to Severus and his house 'ex largissimis stipendis et liberalitatibus quae in eos conferunt').

Domaszewski tried to show that the legionary henceforth drew 500 *denarii* and that there were consequential increases for other arms of the service.

(a) The text of the life of Severus in the Historia Augusta [44] reads 'etiam sestertia quot (MSS quod) nemo unquam principum militibus dedit'. This can be translated as 'he gave the troops more money than any previous Emperor'. Domaszewski, however, thought it necessary to insert a figure before 'sestertia' and interpreting the passage as referring to pay, conjectured 'bina', since (i) any other figure would be too high and (ii) the supposed corruption could be explained as arising from a confusion between IISS and HSS. The insertion is, however, unnecessary, and it is more natural to refer the passage to a donative than to pay. Severus had just been hailed Emperor at Carnuntum; it is far more likely that he offered a higher donative than any of his predecessors than an augmentation of pay at a time when he was necessarily ignorant of the state of the treasury. It is not a sound objection by Domaszewski that at that time Severus had not the money actually to give a donative; the use of 'dedit' cannot thus rigorously be pressed in the Historia Augusta. Further, our authorities date an increase of pay after Albinus's defeat in 197;[45] but this is doubtful (see p. 65).

(b) In a number of inscriptions of Severus' reign military clubs pay out various sums to their members 'anulari nomine'. Domaszewski [46] plausibly explained the *anularium* as representing a year's pay. The *anularium* provided for a veteran *cornicen* on discharge was 500 *denarii*; [47] the same obtained for a number of *principales*,[48] of whom the *optiones valetudinarii* are classed in the Digest (L, 6, 7) as *immunes;* presumably men of this rank enjoyed no other advantages over privates than exemption from fatigues. This would lead us to fix the private's pay in the reign of Severus at 500 *denarii*, a view which receives confirmation from the fact that the *anularium* provided for *armorum custodes* [49] is 1,000 *denarii* and men of this rank are classed in *CIL* viii 2564 as *duplarii* i.e. as receiving double the private's pay. There is however a difficulty here in that in this inscription *cornicines* also appear as *duplarii*, while on the other hand a papyrus [50] treats *armorum custodes* as only 'opere vacantes' i.e. *immunes*. Until this difficulty can be resolved the proposed interpretation of the *anularium* and the inferences drawn from it as to army pay remain uncertain, though again we find an *anularium* for *cornicularii* and *actarii legionis* of 1,000 *denarii*, for *librarii* and *exacti* of 750; [51] it is reasonable to treat these as *duplarii* and *sesquiplicarii* respectively. The evidence provided by these *anularia* seems to me of great force, but I am unable to attach much significance to the fact, stressed by Domaszewski, that the military clubs paid out to their members on various occasions, but not under the name of *anularia*, sums which in all cases are multiples of 500 *denarii* or half thereof; presumably they paid out as much in benefits to their members as the scale of contributions allowed.

(c) The new praetorians demanded 2,500 *denarii* as a special donative on entering Rome. Dio, who was doubtless present, says that they based their demand on the

[44] 5, 2.

[45] Hdn. l.c.; SHA. *Sev.* 12, 2, 'denique militibus tantum stipendiorum quantum nemo principum dedit'. Passerini, *Coorti*, p. 109 n. 2, *Athenaeum* p. 153 n. 3, is wrong in referring this to donatives and not taking 'stipendia' in its natural sense. Although *stipendium* can mean donative, cf. SHA. *Macr.* 5, 7, this sense is less natural, nor is there good evidence that Severus gave unusually large donatives, cf. n. 54.

[46] P-W. *s.v.* 'anularium'.

[47] *ILS.* 2354.

[48] *ILS.* 2438, cf. 9097 n. 9.

[49] *ILS.* 9097.

[50] *P. Lat. Gen.* 1 (*Klio*, iii. p. 23).

[51] *ILS.* 9100.

precedent of the donative given by Octavian to the veterans in 43 B.C.[52] Domaszewski set this aside as absurd and argued that 2,500 *denarii* [53] was selected as being five times the new *legionary* rate of pay, because praetorians had been accustomed to receive five times *their own* rate of pay as a donative on the accession of an Emperor. This carries no conviction; but it provokes the questions why praetorians should have been content to demand a sum much less absolutely, as well as in relation to their new rates of pay and to the cost of living, than praetorians had received from the accession of Claudius,[54] and what relation the donative demanded by the praetorians bore to that which Severus had promised at Carnuntum (see (a) above). I can offer no better explanation than that Severus had impressed on his troops that, with an empty treasury and a civil war imminent, he could do no more than promise rewards to be obtained when the Empire was won, but that the praetorians demanded not the full promised donative but at least an immediate earnest of his promises. In fact Severus gave them only 250 *denarii*. I do not feel sure that we can reject the statement of a reliable contemporary that they actually appealed to the precedent of 43 B.C., though it is possible that this was supplied later by antiquarian recollection.

Domaszewski therefore failed to *prove* that after Severus legionary pay stood at 500 *denarii;* but the second argument used above makes this extremely probable. If it could be shown that Caracalla increased pay to 750 *denarii*, this conclusion would become fairly certain; for Caracalla raised army pay all round,[55] and the increase which he gave to praetorians and presumably to other units was half their previous pay.[56] If it could be shown that henceforth it amounted for legionaries to 750 *denarii* it would prove that Severus had raised it to 500. Domaszewski tried to do this by the following arguments.

(a) Caracalla gave the praetorians 2,500 *denarii* to reconcile them to Geta's murder.[57] Macrinus gave a donative of 750 *denarii* to the soldiers, apparently to all legionaries.[58] Domaszewski suggested that the donatives consisted of a year's pay. There is no probative force in this, since we cannot assume that there was necessarily any simple relation between the amount of donatives and the rate of pay, cf. n. 38.

(b) Caracalla fixed the *praemia militiae* for legionaries at 5,000 *denarii;* this was the amount paid by Augustus to praetorians; praetorians were paid 750 *denarii* a year by Augustus; therefore legionaries were paid 750 *denarii* by Caracalla.[59] This is ingenious but not convincing.

(c) Dio says that the cost of increases in pay under Caracalla was 70,000,000 *denarii*.[60] Domaszewski calculated that this corresponds roughly to the increases that he proposed. True, his calculations do not allow for an increase in pay to *principales* and expressly exclude any increase for *evocati* who received a *salarium*, and centurions who

[52] Dio, xlvi. 46; SHA. *Sev.* 7, 6.

[53] *Truppensold* pp. 232 ff.

[54] It is in fact an unexplained paradox that Severus' recorded donatives throughout his reign were less generous than those of his predecessors.

[55] Dio, lxxviii. 36, 3.

[56] Hdn., iv. 4, 8, says that after Geta's death, ὑπισχνεῖται δὲ αὐτοῖς . . . . ἑκάστῳ μὲν στρατιώτῃ δισχιλίας καὶ πεντακοσίας δραχμὰς Ἀττικάς. προστίθησι δὲ τῷ σιτηρεσίῳ ἄλλο τοῦ τελουμένου ἥμισυ. For the meaning of σιτηρέσιον cf. the parallel passage in SHA. *Carac.* 2, 6, 'addidit denique his quasi fidelioribus erga se *stipendium*'.

[57] See n. 56.

[58] Dio, lxxviii. 19. As Passerini, *Athenaeum*, xxiv, p. 154, remarks, ἄλλας ἑπτακοσίας καὶ πεντήκοντα αὐτοῖς δραχμὰς προσυπόσχηται means that this was to be a second donative of 750 *drachmae*, not a donative equal to the annual *stipendium*.

[59] Dio, lxxvii. 24 = Exc. Val. 394, ὅτι ὁ αὐτὸς τοῖς στρατιώταις ἄθλα τῆς στρατείας τοῖς μὲν ἐν τῷ δορυφορικῷ τεταγμένοις † ἐς χιλίας διακοσίας πεντήκοντα, τοῖς δὲ πεντακισχιλίας λαμβάνειν . . . For ἐς χιλίας Domaszewski conjectured ὀκτακισχιλίας, but this is quite uncertain.

[60] lxxviii. 36, 3.

were also not deemed to receive *stipendium*, a term the exact legal meaning of which he assumes Dio to be translating by μισθοφορά.[61] As Dio's concern is to stress the drain on the exchequer, it is much more likely that he gives an estimate of the total cost of increases in pay and not of some legally defined part of the cost. But it does not follow that Dio's estimate is too low to justify the increases in army pay proposed here (250 *denarii* for legionaries and proportionate advances for all ranks in all units), for we must not reckon, as Domaszewski did, with the paper strength of the legions,[62] viz. 6,100 men but with the number of men actually on the pay roll, which probably did not equal the nominal strength.

(d) An inscription reads as follows:—'Armorum custodes . . . decreverunt ex arca sua veteranis qui de eodem collegio dimittentur anulari n(omine) singulis (denarios) millenos et quingenos etc.' [63] The words 'et quingenos' have been added above the line at a later date and, it is not unreasonable to suppose, after Caracalla had raised the pay by a half.

(e) The *denarii* of Severus had a silver content of only about 50% and the debasement was accompanied by a rise in prices; 750 *denarii* were not necessarily worth more under Caracalla than 300 under Domitian.[64] It is evident therefore that an Emperor who depended so entirely on the support of the troops as Caracalla did can hardly have paid them less than 750 *denarii*.

Taken in conjunction with the valid argument for believing that legionary pay stood at 500 *denarii* under Severus, these arguments (of which (d) is the strongest) have cumulative force and justify us in accepting Domaszewski's conclusions as highly probable in relation to legionaries and praetorians.[65]

We can assume corresponding increases in the pay of all other units. (See Table at the end, p. 71).

In Egypt, at any rate during the Flavian period, the legionaries and probably other soldiers received less than was properly due to them. An account dated by Premerstein to A.D. 80–1 [66] shows that the legionary drew three instalments of 248 Egyptian silver *drachmae* each year. The *stipendium* of 75 *denarii* was really worth 300 of these *drachmae* but instead it seems to have been equated with 300 billon tetradrachms, which in turn were worth 248 silver *drachmae*. In a later account of Domitian's reign, presumably after he had raised the pay, the four-monthly instalment had risen to 297 *drachmae*: [67] it looks as if the legionaries in Egypt did not receive the full increment of one third. This was not the only way in which the Government succeeded in economising at the expense of the Egyptian legionary. Johnson points out that the deductions made from pay on account of food and clothing exceeded what was necessary to meet the cost to the Government.[68] The army in Egypt, locally recruited to an extent that was unusual in the first century, and isolated, was not in a position to endanger the Government's security: we need not conclude that similar chicanery was practised elsewhere.

[61] Domaszewski held that centurions received no increment from Caracalla; for rejection of this view see below.

[62] Veg., ii. 6. Assuming 5,000 legionaries on an average in the 33 legions, an increase of 250 *denarii* a head gives 36,250,000 *denarii*; the balance is easily accounted for by increases to officers, *principales* and men in other units.

[63] *ILS.* 9097.

[64] T. Frank, *Ec. Survey*, v. p. 92 and literature there cited. The doubling and trebling of prices in Egypt may have been partly due to local conditions and is more than can be accounted for by the debasement of the coinage.

[65] Passerini, *op. cit.*, pp. 151–6, in criticising Domaszewski fails to record all his arguments and misses their cumulative force.

[66] *P. Lat. Gen.* 1, see von Premerstein, *Klio*, iii. pp. 1 ff. Lesquier, *L'armée romaine d'Egypte d'Auguste à Dioclétien*, (Cairo, 1918) pp. 248 sqq; Johnson, *op. cit.* pp. 670 ff.

[67] *P. Lat. Gen.* 4; Johnson *loc. cit.*

[68] *Op. cit.* p. 670.

III. STOPPAGES AND SAVINGS

The soldier's pay was not a net wage. Out of the 120 *denarii* that the legionary received in Polybius' time deductions were made for corn (and presumably other victuals), clothing and arms, additional to those with which the recruit no doubt had to equip himself on enlistment.[69] Very little, if any, of his pay can have been left over to support his household, certainly not enough to buy or hire labour to take his own place on the farm.[70] The success of Marius and later generals in recruiting volunteers testifies to the miserable conditions of the proletariate and to the hopes of plunder, not to the inherent attractiveness of army pay. Under the Principate the rates were certainly far more attractive, especially to soldiers without dependents: and, by law at least, soldiers were not family men. But stoppages for clothing, arms and tents, still constituted a grievance severely felt.[71] As seen above, food too had probably to be bought by the soldier. Nero gave the praetorians a free ration of corn; [72] as the soldier's allowance was doubtless still 48 *modii* in the year [73] and the price of corn at Rome probably did not fall below 3 sesterces *per modium*,[74] this was equivalent to at least another 24 *denarii* a year. As for other troops, at any rate in Egypt, deductions were still made for food under Domitian (see below), and even in the reigns of Severus and Caracalla rations were issued to soldiers as advances against their pay, which comes to the same thing.[75] In the third century soldiers were paid out of the *annona* in kind as well as in cash; this was the consequence of the chaotic condition of the currency and it does not follow that they were better off than their forerunners in A.D. 14.

The Egyptian accounts give some idea of how much a soldier might be able to save. They show the following stoppages:—

Hay	30 *drachmae* a year	
Food	240	
Boots	36	
Saturnalia	20	
Signa	4	
Clothing	206,	in another case 246
	536	576

[69] See note 6. C. Gracchus provided that the State should pay for the soldier's clothes (Plut. *C. Gracc.* 5), but this was evidently of short-lived effect.

[70] T. Frank, *Ec. Survey*, i. pp. 188–9, on the basis of Cato, *De r.r.* 56 ff. reckons the annual cost of food for a slave at 69 *denarii* a year (if wheat is taken at 3 sesterces, cf. p. 192, this should be increased to 75). A soldier received the same ration of wheat that Cato allowed for a slave (cf. Polyb., vi. 39. 13), and can hardly have consumed less of other foodstuffs. His boots and clothing must have cost more than those of a slave, to whom Cato allowed a tunic, blanket and pair of wooden shoes every other year, at a cost guessed by Tenney Frank to be 9 *denarii* annually. An Egyptian legionary under Domitian spent as much as 60 *denarii* on clothing, but he might have been accounted 'nitidus' in Republican days. The cost of arms and probably tents has still to be added.

[71] Tac. *Ann.*, i. 17.

[72] *Ib.*, xv. 72, 2, 'Addidit sine pretio frumentum, quo ante ex modo annonae utebantur'; Suet. *Nero* 10.

[73] Polyb., vi. 39, 13.

[74] Tac. *Ann.*, xv. 39. 2, 'Pretium frumenti minutum usque ad ternos nummos'—evidently a minimum. According to Pliny, *N.H.*, xviii. 90, ten sesterces was an average price for a *modius* of meal.

[75] Wilcken, *Gr. Ostraka*, 1128–46; receipts for corn etc. given ἄχρι τοῦ ὀψωνίου (1129), ἄχρι λόγου συνάρσεως (1135), ἐν προχρ[εία], cf. 1131, 1145. Van Berchem, *L'Annone militaire dans l'Empire romain au troisième siècle* (Paris 1937) p. 136, cites these for his view that the *stipendium* was *supplemented* by payments in kind as early as Severus; they seem to me to make against it. It is also quite uncertain whether there is any reference to the military *annona* in Dio, lxxviii. 34, 3, describing Macrinus' restoration of Caracalla's concessions to the Army: τήν τε τροφὴν καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς ἐντελῆ καὶ τὰ ἄλλ' ὅ

The balance of 208 or 168 *drachmae* is put into savings. (It is surely abnormal that neither soldier spends a single *drachma* outside the camp.) We cannot be sure how far the accounts can be taken as typical. The stoppage on account of clothing clearly might vary from year to year and soldier to soldier. Neither account refers to the cost of arms which the soldier had to meet out of his pay. A second-century papyrus shows a soldier spending 103 *denarii* on arms.[76] The expense of arms must have fallen most heavily in the first year of service and probably left the soldier a debtor to the bank in his unit.[77] It is to be noted that the previous year's balances credited to the soldiers of *P. Lat. Gen.* I. are only 136 and 20 *drachmae* respectively. This may be explained by the supposition that their enlistment was fairly recent and that they had previously been able to save little on account of heavy initial expenses. It is, however, remarkable that in *P. Lat. Gen.* 4 in the line which apparently gives the deposits of four soldiers none exceeds 210 *drachmae* and that in none of the three cases in which we can trace the history of the account for a further year did the size of the deposits notably increase. Here the augmentation of the pay to 297 *drachmae* is more than counterbalanced by stoppages at higher rates. This practice, if general, must have gone far to nullify the effect of Domitian's increase of pay. Further Domitian forbade savings deposited by the soldier in the military bank to exceed 250 *denarii*.[78] We do not know what soldiers did thereafter with excess savings. We are left with the impression that, especially if paid at the normal rates, the legionary had the opportunity to make substantial savings; Vegetius' remark that 'most men, and particularly poor ones, spend as much as they can get', is, however, to be remembered.[79]

IV. LAND ALLOTMENTS AND 'PRAEMIA MILITIAE'

Under the Principate the veteran owed his fairly good economic position in part to the payments or grants of land made to him on discharge. No such regular gratuities had been guaranteed in Republican times, though victorious generals were sometimes able to secure allotments of land for their soldiers. The normal size of such allotments is unknown: if some of Marius' veterans received 100 *jugera* apiece in Africa,[80] that must have been exceptional. Augustus claims to have provided for 300,000 out of 500,000 Roman citizens in his service by allotting land to them or paying money 'pro praemis militiae'.[81] From A.D. 5 the *praemia militiae* were paid out of the *aerarium militare*; Augustus contributed 170,000,000 sesterces to its funds,[82] but the *praemia* were not directly his gift. The 300,000 soldiers of whom Augustus speaks were, therefore, dis-

ἀφῄρητο αὐτούς ἀποκατέστησεν. The parallel passage in 28, 2, refers only to the reduction of pay (ἡ τῆς μισθοφορᾶς συντομή) and deprivation of privileges and immunities (ἡ τῶν γερῶν τῶν τε ἀτελείων . . . . στέρησις) which Caracalla had given them.

[76] *Fayum Towns*, *CV*, col. 2, 18.

[77] *Ib.* Col. II for withdrawals by soldiers of sums deposited no doubt with the *signifer*, to pay debts to the unit.

[78] Suet. *Dom.* 7, 3. Veg., ii. 20, describes a practice (which he calls ancient) by which the soldier was required to deposit half of his donatives with the *signiferi*; this rule was in force at a time when the troops were paid in kind and literate soldiers exceptional; i.e. in the third century, if not later. Veg. does not mention Domitian's restriction which may have been shortlived.

[79] Veg. *l.c.* Heichelheim, *Ec. Survey*, iv. p. 180, puts the annual cost of living in Syria during the second century at between 100 and 140 *denarii*. Yet in Syria prices were apparently higher than in Egypt. This gives an idea of the soldier's opportunity for saving.

[80] *De vir. ill.* 73, 1.

[81] *RG.* 3, 3. 'Millia civium Romanorum sub sacramento meo fuerunt circiter [quingen]ta. Ex quibus dedu[xi in colon]ias aut remisi in municipia sua stipen[dis emeri]tis millia aliquanto [plura qu]am trecenta et iis omnibus agros a[dsignavi] aut pecuniam pro p[raemis mil]itiae dedi'.

[82] *RG.* 17, 2.

charged before A.D. 5, as is also apparent from the following fact.[83] About 120,000 veterans were settled in colonies in 29 B.C., when they received a special donative of 1,000 sesterces apiece.[84] These were Augustus' own veterans; in addition, he granted money, but not land, to an unspecified number of Antony's time-expired soldiers who went over to him after Actium; [85] Antony's other citizen legionaries may have been similarly treated later; whether he included all or any of these among the 500,000 'sub sacramento meo' and therefore among the 300,000 for whose retiring years he provided, is uncertain but not improbable.[86] The exact number of Augustus' legions after 29 B.C. is unknown; it was 28 in 8 B.C.[87] and may have been so earlier; if some were raised between 29 and 18 B.C. it would, however, help to explain the discharges between 7 and 2 B.C. (see below). All legionaries retained under arms in 29 B.C. must have been due for discharge on grounds of age even before A.D. 5; and so must many others recruited after 29 B.C. to take the place of casualties and soldiers previously discharged. There is, therefore, no difficulty in accounting for the discharge of 300,000 men before A.D. 5; in 29 B.C. 120,000 of Augustus' own veterans; in 14 B.C. the great majority of the survivors of those who in 29 B.C. had been retained in legions whose nominal strength may have totalled 168,000 men, in 7–2 B.C. an indefinite number of men recruited after 29 B.C. but before, say, 18 B.C.; [88] to these, in all probability, should be added a considerable number of Antony's veterans discharged in 29 B.C. On the other hand it is hard to believe that the number of legionaries discharged would not have substantially exceeded 300,000 if the remaining years of Augustus' reign had been included; for despite the Pannonian and German crises and the complaints by mutineers in A.D. 14 that many soldiers were retained for thirty or forty years, physical incapacity must have compelled the Government to discharge before A.D. 14 a large number of the recruits of 14 B.C. Now if we can safely assume that the 300,000 veterans for whom Augustus provided were all released before A.D. 5, we have in Chapter 16 of the *Res Gestae* a statement of the principal expenditure entailed; viz. in 29 and 14 B.C. 600,000,000 sesterces for land in Italy and 260,000,000 for land overseas [89] and in the years 7, 6, 4, 3 and 2 B.C. 400,000,000 sesterces for cash payments.[90] If this statement were a complete account of all Augustus' liberalities on behalf of veterans discharged after Actium and before A.D. 5, and if such veterans numbered 300,000, it would represent an average of 4,000 sesterces in cash or the equivalent in land for each veteran; in addition the 120,000 veterans discharged after Actium received a donative of 1,000 sesterces, see above. But it does not refer to his money payments to Antony's

[83] Contra Hardy, *CQ.* xiv. pp. 187 ff., whose view is, in my judgement, untenable even with his assumption that during most of his reign Augustus had only 22 legions.

[84] *RG.* 15, 3.

[85] Dio, li. 3, 1, ὁ δ' ὅμιλος τῶν Ἀντωνιείων στρατιωτῶν ἐς τὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος στρατόπεδα κατετάχθη, καὶ ἔπειτα τοὺς μὲν πολίτας τοῦς ἔξω τῆς ἡλικίας ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων, μηδὲν μηδενὶ δούς, ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀπέπεμψε, . . . 4, 5, καὶ αὐτῶν ὁ Καῖσαρ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις χρήματα ἔδωκε, τοῖς δὲ διὰ παντὸς αὐτῷ συστρατεύσασι καὶ γῆν προσκατένειμε.

[86] Antony had 30 legions, Grueber, *Coins of the Roman Republic in the British Museum*, ii. 526–30, but probably two-thirds of the legionaries were Orientals, Kromayer, *Hermes*, 33, 68, n. 1, cf. Jos. *AJ.* XIV. 15, 10; Cuntz, *Jahreshefte*, XXV. pp. 70–81; and Augustus is concerned in *RG.* 3, 3 only with Roman citizens, of whom Antony had perhaps only 50,000; possibly Augustus includes these.

[87] Inferred from *BGU*, IV. 1104, 1108.

[88] The lowest date assumes 16 years service.

[89] *RG.* 16, 1. Hardy, *op. cit.* p. 190 rejects Hyginus' statement (p. 77 Lachmann) that in 29 B.C., as well as in 14, some veterans were settled outside Italy, and suggests that this is a confusion arising from the settlement in colonies overseas of expropriated Italians; Dio, li. 4, puts the colonies in Italy only and *RG.* 16, 1 is compatible with this. In that case each veteran received land worth 5,000 sesterces. But this seems uncertain.

[90] *RG.* 15, 3.

veterans in 30 B.C., and they *may* be among the 300,000; nor does it allude to any liberalities between 29 and 14 B.C.: were no soldiers discharged in those years? [91] We may think it probable that the gratuities given on discharge in this period did at least not greatly exceed 4,000 sesterces. For the legionary indeed they may have been less, since praetorian veterans as well as centurions and *principales* must have received larger allotments or money grants [92] and, therefore, a disproportionately large share in the total sum expended by Augustus, while legionaries received a correspondingly smaller share.

In A.D. 5 the difficulty of securing recruits obliged Augustus both to extend the years of service and to offer the incentive of a larger payment on discharge; henceforth this was fixed at 3,000 *denarii* for legionaries, three times what it may previously have been, and 5,000 for praetorians.[93] Dio expressly states that the lowness of the *praemia* previously granted was a source of dissatisfaction. In the more settled conditions of the Augustan regime men would not enlist except on guaranteed terms more favourable than those which had contented the soldiers of the civil wars, who had prospects of plunder. Caracalla fixed the *praemia* for legionaries at 5,000 *denarii*, for praetorians at some unknown sum; [94] whether they had been raised by any of his predecessors we are not informed.

No doubt the retired soldier generally sought to invest his capital in land. Columella reckoned the price of unimproved land at 1,000 sesterces *per iugerum*.[95] Allowing for the cost of implements, seed etc, Tenney Frank thought that *praemia* of 12,000 sesterces would have sufficed to purchase only 8–10 *iugera*.[96] This suggests what the veteran of the later first century A.D. might have acquired in Italy; for the prices of land in the provinces there is almost no evidence,[97] and it was in the provinces that most veterans then settled. In Augustus' reign Italy had been preferred, but again our evidence permits no conclusions about the value of *praemia* in terms of land at that time. On the one hand, as we have seen, the *praemia* granted in cash or land before A.D. 5 were probably much below 12,000 sesterces. On the other hand, Columella's evidence cannot be applied with confidence to conditions in 29 and 14 B.C. The influx of money in 29 B.C., and no doubt the large purchases made by Augustus, sent the price of land up, but it had previously been depressed by political insecurity, and it is impossible to say whether in 29 B.C. it had been raised to, or exceeded, or still fell below Columella's price. Augustus may have been able to buy a good deal cheaply before the general rise in 29 B.C., and despite his own boasting we may doubt how much compensation was received by the expropriated supporters of Antony.[98] Thus there are too many uncertain factors to justify conjectures either about the size of allotments to veterans in Italy in Augustus' time or about the amount of land that veterans could purchase with their *praemia* in the provinces at any time.

[91] *RG.* 3, 3, 'iis omnibus' is against a supposition that soldiers discharged in these years received *praemia* from the *aerarium*, not from Augustus.

[92] For praetorians after A.D. 5 see following note. *ILS.* 2338 for an *aquilifer* and *curator veteranorum* who received 'praemia duplicia' in 29 B.C.

[93] Dio, lv. 23, χαλεπῶς δὲ δὴ τῶν στρατιωτῶν πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἄθλων σμικρότητα διὰ τοὺς πολέμους τοὺς τότε ἐνεστηκότας οὐχ ἥκιστα ἐχόντων, καὶ μηδενὸς ἔξω τοῦ τεταγμένου τῆς στρατείας σφίσι χρόνου ὅπλα λαβεῖν ἐθέλοντος, ἐψηφίσθη τοῖς μὲν ἐκ τοῦ δορυφορικοῦ πεντακισχιλίας δραχμάς, ἐπειδὰν ἐκκαίδεκα ἔτη, τοῖς δὲ ἑτέροις τρισχιλίας, ἐπειδὰν εἴκοσι στρατεύσωνται, δίδοσθαι.

See also note 33.

[94] See note 59. Nischer's statement (*op. cit.* p. 527) that the *praemia* were increased in proportion to the increase in rates of pay is unjustified.

[95] iii. 3, 8.

[96] *Ec. Survey*, v. p. 170

[97] Meagre evidence for Syria only in *Ec. Survey*, iv. pp. 149–52.

[98] Dio, li. 4.

If the normal rate of interest on capital invested in land was 5 or 6%,[99] the veteran legionary could have drawn 150–180 *denarii* a year as 'unearned income', compared with his army pay of 225. This was little enough on which to support a family, but many must have been able to supplement this with savings, and of course by their own labour.

V. AUXILIARY PAY AND *PRAEMIA*

It has long been known that cavalrymen in the *auxilia* were paid more than foot-soldiers and *equites alares* more than *equites cohortales*[100]; further, as a legionary considered it to be promotion to be made *duplicarius alae*, the pay of a cavalryman in an *ala* must have been more than half that of a legionary.[101] More precise evidence about the pay of auxiliary foot-soldiers can now be derived from a document (*P. Berlin* 6866) recently published by R. Marichal. This document contains accounts relating to an auxiliary regiment stationed in Egypt; these accounts belong, as Marichal has proved,[101a] to one of the years 192 to 196. They show that the soldier in this unit received a *stipendium* of 84 *denarii* $15\frac{3}{4}$ obols. (The *denarius* was worth 28 obols.) Marichal has plausibly argued that the *stipendium* would have amounted to 100 *denarii*, but that it had been reduced to the sum stated by the same process of juggling with its equivalent in Egyptian currency, which we have seen applied to the pay of legionaries stationed in Egypt (see p. 59 above). The question remains whether the *stipendium* in this document represents a whole year's wage or one of the annual instalments, as in the accounts of Egyptian legionaries in *P. Gen. Lat.* 1 cited above.

Marichal decides without hesitation in favour of the first alternative. On this view the auxiliary foot-soldier received only 100 *denarii* a year in the reign of Commodus or early in that of Severus. Marichal further assumes that the pay of the auxiliary had been increased in proportion to that of the legionary by Domitian; this means that before Domitian the auxiliary foot-soldier received 75 *denarii*. This agrees with a conjecture already made by Domaszewski. In 70 the Batavian *auxilia* asked for 'duplex stipendium',[101b] and Domaszewski interpreted this as a demand that they should be paid in two instalments each year instead of one, and held that the amount of the instalment was, as for legionaries, 75 *denarii*. But this conjecture depends on Domaszewski's assumption that before Severus *stipendium* always means a payment of 75 *denarii*, and we have seen that this assumption has little to commend it. It is much more likely that in the present passage it means simply the total annual pay, and that the Batavians were asking that this should be doubled. But in that case their demand furnishes no certain clue about the amount of their pay, though of course we may safely assume that it was less than that of legionaries. Domaszewski's conjecture (which Marichal accepts) thus provides no confirmation for Marichal's interpretation of the meaning of *stipendium* in the Berlin papyrus.

[99] 6%, Col., iii. 3, 8; 5% in the alimentary inscriptions.

[100] Tac. *Hist.*, iv. 19; the Batavians demand 'augeri equitum numerum' as part of a programme for bettering themselves. In Hadrian's *allocutio* to the troops in Africa (*ILS.* 2487) he says, 'Difficile est cohortales equites etiam per se placere, difficilius post alarem exercitationem non displicere.' If the *equites alares* were expected to be more efficient, they were probably better paid.

[101] Cheesman, *Auxilia of the Roman Imperial Army*, p. 35.

[101a] *L'Occupation romaine de la basse Egypte* (Paris 1945), pp. 24–6. I am indebted to Mr. Eric Birley for knowledge of this work. Lesquier had already used the papyrus, but, owing to a misinterpretation, dated it to 180–3.

[101b] Tac. *Hist.*, iv. 19.

In support of this interpretation, Marichal advances the argument that, if *stipendium* means in the papyrus one of three equal instalments of auxiliary pay, then the foot-soldier in the *auxilia* would have received 300 *denarii* a year, i.e. as much as the legionary: this is obviously impossible.[101c] But Marichal has overlooked the fact that the papyrus may belong to a year after Severus had already introduced higher rates of pay, although our authorities place this after Albinus' defeat in 197 (see n. 45). In that case the comparable rate for a legionary was not 300 but 500 *denarii*. Now it would not be at all surprising that the auxiliary soldier serving with the infantry should have received three fifths as much as the legionary. On this hypothesis, if we assume that auxiliary pay amounted to 300 *denarii* after it had been increased by Severus, and that it was raised *pari passu* with legionary pay both by Domitian and Severus, the auxiliary foot-soldier was paid 135 *denarii* before Domitian and 180 from the time of Domitian to that of Severus. The Batavian demand that their pay should be doubled may now be taken as a demand for parity with the legionaries.[101d].

How can we choose between these two interpretations? In my view the latter must be accepted for the following reasons:—

(*a*) It enables us to assign the same meaning to *stipendium* in the Berlin papyrus as it undoubtedly bears in *P. Gen. Lat. 1.*

(*b*) The disparity between the wage of the legionary and that of the auxiliary is too great on Marichal's view; there was no such superiority either in the social status of the persons recruited in the legions or in their fighting quality as would be necessary to explain their pay being three times as great. (Even Roman citizens are sometimes found in the *auxilia.*)

(*c*) Auxiliary pay at the rates proposed by Marichal would not have sufficed to meet their necessary expenses, still less to account for the prosperity which some of them seem to have enjoyed. According to Marichal the auxiliary in Egypt received only the equivalent of 336 *drachmae* after the time of Domitian; before Domitian only 252 *drachmae*. Now it is true that in Egypt, where the cost of living was exceptionally low (cf. n. 79) and where the masses of the people lived on a subsistence level, wages seem to fall below these figures; thus a labourer in 79 may have received only 210 *drachmae*, without keep, although he had to pay out of this sum no less than 60 for taxes (from which the soldier was exempt); in 155 a guard gets only 240; a deputy of a tax-collector receives 252 in 145, and a *sitologos* 400 in 191.[102] How some of these people lived we cannot tell; certainly if they married, their wives must have been obliged to labour for their own support. But the soldier cannot have been expected to live at or just below

[101c] As Marichal accepts Domaszewski's view that Domitian added a fourth, and Commodus a fifth *stipendium* to legionary pay, each of 75 *denarii*, he ought to have argued that if *stipendium* in the papyrus does not mean the total annual pay, it must be not a third but a fifth thereof. This would certainly be impossible; but the inference to be drawn is not that *stipendium* can here only mean a whole year's pay, but as argued above, that increases of pay did not take the form of the addition of another equal instalment to the 3 which the legionary received before Domitian. Incidentally Marichal's own theory requires him to suppose that Domitian increased auxiliary pay by one third, although it continued to be paid in a single instalment each year. This is a further illustration of the illogicality into which Domaszewski's theory of the nature of *stipendium* leads its adherents.

[101d] In that case the Batavian demand for 'duplex stipendium' was strictly a demand for an increase from 135 to 225 *denarii*; but an objection cannot be founded on this, since 'duplex' need not be taken in a mathematically exact sense, cf. n. 14.

[102] See Johnson, *op. cit.* pp. 304 sqq. for these and further examples. Johnson reckons the expenses of the labourer in 79, including taxes but not shelter, at 220 *drachmae*, but allows that this may be a little too high.

the mere subsistence level. It was nothing to the government if the peasant was half-starved; but a hungry soldier would not have been an efficient fighting man. The peasant could go in rags and barefoot; but the soldier had to be well-shod and smartly turned out. The soldier too had to have arms as well as clothes, and the cost of tents may well have been equivalent to that of the hovels in which the labourer lived. We have seen that the legionary had to pay out of his wages the cost of food, clothes, arms and tents, and that in Egypt he might spend over 500 *drachmae* a year on food and clothes alone. There is no ground for thinking that the auxiliary, unlike the legionary, did not have to meet these costs himself,[103] or that in his case they would have been markedly less; it may be noted that the hay allowance of 25 *denarii* for an auxiliary cavalryman in 179 [104] is only a little less than the 30 charged to the debit of legionaries in *P. Gen. Lat.* 1. It is plain that the auxiliary required a wage greatly exceeding that of the labourer, if he was to live at all. But in fact he was able to save from his wages, and even, illegal as this was, to support a wife and family.[105] On Marichal's view this would be altogether inexplicable, and we are, therefore, driven to the interpretation that the *stipendium* in *P. Berlin* 6866 is not the total annual wage, but a third of it, and that the document must be dated to the reign of Severus, on the assumption, which is wholly probable, that his increase in army pay took effect early in that reign.

It is likely that soldiers in the *cohortes civium Romanorum* were more highly paid than other auxiliaries. At Augustus' death they received the same donative as the legionaries, and this makes it probable that they also received the same rate of pay. The grant of this title to a unit consisting of non-citizens was, in this case, not merely honorific: the serving soldiers who thereby secured citizenship also secured the higher rate of pay. Such regiments were subsequently recruited as before from non-citizens,[106] and the citizen rate of pay may not have been extended to them.

The rates of pay for cavalrymen both in the cohorts and *alae* must have exceeded those applicable to foot-soldiers in *auxilia*, but cannot be reconstructed.

For a payment or grant of land on discharge to auxiliaries the only positive evidence appears to be the fact that a veteran of the *cohors I classica* took part in the probably Neronian colony of Antium.[107] But it is hard to believe that if the *auxilia*, who frequently served side by side with the legions, did not share in the benefits which they must have known the legionaries enjoyed, they would not have voiced complaints, e.g. in the Batavian mutiny of A.D. 70, or that after 25 years' service or more they can

[103] It was an auxiliary cavalryman who paid 103 *denarii* for arms, cf. n. 76. It is true that *P. Berlin* 6866 shows only one deduction from the auxiliary's wage, a *collatio* for an unspecified purpose of 4 *denarii* 22½ obols. (I am not convinced by Marichal's argument that this should be identified with the very much smaller contribution 'ad signa' made by the more highly paid legionaries.) But it must be remembered that the men in question were being employed away from their unit, and were therefore not drawing on army rations; instead they must have had to buy food for themselves. As for clothes, they were not necessarily a charge on every instalment of pay; and this is more obviously true of arms, which would only have required periodic renewal. It is, however, conceivable that in Severus' reign soldiers in all units were less subject to stoppages from pay.

[104] *P. Hamb.* 39.

[105] *Fayum Towns, CV*, col. 2, lines 2 and 18, records an auxiliary of an *ala* as having saved 1562 *denarii*; admittedly cavalrymen must have been paid more than auxiliary foot-soldiers (supra), but hardly so much more as to make it possible that one of them should have saved the equivalent of nearly 20 years' wages of an infantryman, if Marichal were right. For auxiliaries with freedmen, land and other property see e.g. *ILS.* 2500, 2531, 2567; Wilcken, *Chrest.* 376; *BGU* II 591, 455; I, 4. As for auxiliaries having families, a high proportion of the soldiers of *P. Berlin* 6866 were born 'castris'.

[106] Cheesman, *op. cit.*, p. 46. Macrinus' plan to pay new recruits to the army at the rates fixed before Caracalla while continuing those rates for the benefit of soldiers already in the service (Dio, lxxviii. 28, 3) may have been based on experience in *cohortes c. R.*

[107] *ILS.* 2574.

have been expected to start life again with no more resources than perhaps meagre savings.

For the fleet we have no evidence.

VI. *PRINCIPALES* AND CENTURIONS

If we turn to the pay of the *principales*, Domaszewski[108] has made it probable that they fell into four classes, the lowest of whom, the *immunes*, drew the same pay as privates, while the other three drew respectively one and a half, two and three times the pay of the private.[109] To the highest paid class must belong not only the *optiones ad spem ordinis* (the deputies of the legionary centurion) but all other *principales* who were directly promoted to a legionary centurionate, viz. *decuriones* of *ala* or cohort, centurions of a cohort, *cornicularius* of the praetorian prefect or of a provincial governor, *aquilifer* and also the *evocati*.

We must assume that the pay of the *principales* of the higher paid units, the praetorian and the urban cohorts, stood in the same relation to the pay of the private in those units as that of the *principales* in the legions to that of the legionary private.

Centurions were paid only twice as much as the common soldier in Polybius' day.[110] In the Philippi campaign, however, commanders on both sides promised a donative to the centurions five times greater than that promised to the private soldiers, and we may infer with strong probability that their pay was already five times larger; perhaps it had been increased by Caesar, who depended so much on his centurions.[111] After the increase in praetorian pay by Augustus, however, the centurion must have been paid even more than five times as much as the legionary, or else he would have received less than those *principales* in the guard who were frequently promoted to legionary centurionates. Probably he henceforth received five times as much as the praetorian. Centurions must also have shared proportionately in all subsequent increases of army pay. Domaszewski indeed held that Severus made no further increase in the pay of centurions but only increased the number of *primi ordines* so as to give them better prospects of promotion.[112] But even if Domaszewski had proved this increase (as he surely has not), the creation of one or two additional posts in the higher grade of the service would have been small compensation

[108] *Rangordnung*, pp. 70–2.

[109] This view is based (i) on the statement of Veg., ii. 7, 'duplares duas, sesquiplicares unam semis consequebantur annonam'; (the existence of a rank paid at double the private's rate is shown also by *ILS*. 470, mentioning *duplarii* under Elagabalus; 9098, dedication under Severus by '[milites cons]ecuti dupli stipendii beneficium';) (ii) on the fact that the inscriptions of the *scholae principalium* (*ILS*. 2354, 2438, 9097, 9100) show an *anularium* paid to the *cornicen* (an *immunis*) of 500 *denarii*, to *librarii* and *exacti* of 800, to the *cornicularius praefecti* of 1,000, to the *optiones ad spem ordinis* of 1,500. Domaszewski assumed with great probability that these payments were the equivalent of one year's pay.

[110] See note 6.

[111] App. *BC*. iv. 100 (speech of Cassius), ἐπιδώσομεν . . . στρατιώτῃ μὲν χιλίας καὶ πεντακοσίας δραχμὰς Ἰταλικάς, λοχαγῷ δὲ πενταπλάσιον, καὶ χιλιάρχῃ δὲ τὸ ἀνάλογον. (The last words, in particular, show that the differing amounts of the donatives promised to different ranks rested on a basis of correspondence; and it is hard to see to what they could have corresponded except the differences between the scales of pay applicable to those ranks.) Cf. 120 (speech of Antony), ἐπιδώσομεν νικητήρια, δραχμὰς ἑκάστῳ στρατιώτῃ πεντακισχιλίας, λοχάγῳ δὲ πεντάκις τοσαύτας, χιλιάρχῃ δὲ τὸ διπλάσιον τοῦ λοχαγοῦ. This makes it probable that in 42 B.C. tribunes were paid only twice as much as ordinary centurions; and *primi ordines* and even *primi pili* presumably received less than tribunes. Later all these officers seem to have secured substantial increases in pay, differentiating their rank more sharply from ordinary centurions and other ranks, see below.

[112] The evidence for such an increase is that *ILS*. 2452 (Marcus) mentions 7 centurions in the first cohort, 8 in the sixth, 7 in the eighth whereas *CIL*. xiii. 6801 (Severus) mentions 11 in the first cohort. Domaszewski identified the 4 extra centurions with those employed on the staff, viz *princeps praetorii*, *centurio strator*, commander of the *equites singulares*, and *exercitator* of the *equites singulares* and held that Severus made them all centurions of the first cohort, i.e. in his view *primi ordines* (*Rangordnung*, p. 98).

to the centurion for the failure of the Government to raise his pay *pro rata* with that of other ranks. If Severus did in fact act as Domaszewski supposed, it would be significant of a desire to reduce the distance between officers and men in the Army. But Domaszewski cannot be right.

(a) If Severus and Caracalla raised the pay of *principales* in the praetorian guard but not that of the centurions, then the highest class of *principales* would have been paid under Caracalla more highly than centurions, 7,500 *denarii* against 6,250. To suppose that the pay of *principales* was not increased proportionately to that of privates would raise similar difficulties in relation to their pay.

(b) The increase of pay under Severus and Caracalla perhaps did no more than compensate the army for the depreciation of the currency. If the centurion did not receive such an increase, he was probably not merely relatively but absolutely worse off under Caracalla than under the Antonines. Gifts in money as rewards for special services would have been poor substitutes for the diminution in the purchasing power of the annual pay. Domaszewski's hypothesis lacks evidence [113] and has nothing to be said for it.

It seems probable that centurions of the *primi ordines* were paid twice as much as ordinary centurions [114] and perhaps, though evidence is lacking, that increments were attached to successive promotions within the ranks of the centurionate and the *primi ordines*.

The grants of money or land to *principales* and centurions on discharge must also have exceeded those of the praetorians, by how much we cannot say.

The *primus pilus* was no doubt paid and pensioned at an even higher rate.[115] High discharge payments help to explain the length of service of so many *primi pili* and senior centurions; it was cheapest to keep them in service till death.[116] Domaszewski conjectured that *primi pili* were paid twice as much as *primi ordines* [117] and showed that this agreed with rates probable for the *equestres militiae*. Praetorian tribunes are regularly promoted to be *procuratores ducenarii*, not *centenarii*, so that their income must have exceeded 25,000 *denarii*, while tribunes of the Vigiles become *procuratores centenarii*, and must have had smaller incomes; *tribuni laticlavii* are equal in rank with them. Domaszewski conjectured 30,000 *denarii* as the income of praetorian tribunes, 25,000 for that of tribunes of the urban cohorts, 20,000 for that of *tribuni laticlavii* and *vigilum*. *Primi*

[113] Domaszewski, *Rangordnung*, p. 111, cites *ILS*. 7178, 'T. Aurelio T. fil. Papir(ia) Flavino primipilari honorat[o] a divo Magno Antonino Aug(usto) (sestertium) (quinquaginta) milia n(ummum) et [sestertium] viginti quinque [milia nummum] et gradum promotionis [ob] alacritatem virtu[tis adv]ersus hostes Ca[rpos] et res prospere et va[lide ges]tas'. He infers (i) that the two donatives were given to him on reaching centurionate and *primi ordines* respectively; as the scale of donatives always corresponds to that of the pay the doubling implies double pay for *primi ordines*; (this seems probable;) (ii) the donative of 6,250 *denarii* is explicable as 5 units of 1,250 *denarii*, but the legionaries' pay was reckoned in units of 75 *denarii*, which stand in no clear relation to units of 1,250; on the other hand the praetorians' pay was reckoned in units of 250 *denarii*, consequently the unit used for reckoning the centurion's donatives, and therefore his pay was 5 times that of the praetorian. The reconstruction is conjectural and leads to the difficulties stated above. It is quite easy to suppose that Flavinus received half a year's pay as donative.

[114] See previous note.

[115] Domaszewski held that they received grants on discharge of 150,000 *denarii*, cf. Suet. *Gaius*, 44: 'in exercitu recensendo plerisque centurionum maturis iam et nonnullis ante paucissimos quam consummaturi essent dies, primos pilos ademit, causatus senium cuiusque et imbecillitatem; ceterorum (? other *primi pili* or centurions other than *primi pili*) increpita cupiditate commoda emeritae militiae ad † sescentorum milium summam recidit'. If 'sescentorum' is right, the passage must refer to *primi pili* and they then received a grant on discharge, *after Gaius reduced it*, 50 times greater than the legionary's. This is not impossible; their pay may have been 66 times greater; but it is suspiciously high. Emendations of the text are arbitrary and uncertain. A theory cannot be built on this passage.

[116] Cf. Suet. *Tib.*, 48, 2, 'ex senio mortem, ex morte compendium captans'.

[117] He took their grants on discharge (as to which see note 115) to be 10 times their annual pay.

pili who received equestrian status seem normally to have been promoted through the *militiae urbanae;* a salary of 15,000 *denarii*, therefore, fits well. As to the remaining *equestres militiae*, Domaszewski held that the *tribunus semestris* received 6,250 *denarii* and the *tribunus angusticlavius*, therefore, 12,500; the *praefectus cohortis* must have had rather less, say 10,000, the *praefectus alae* rather more, say 15,000. But, though it would cause no surprise that such equestrian officers should have been paid less than *primi pili*—(in British Government service experienced officials of a lower grade also receive a larger salary than younger officials of a higher grade)—there seems to be no good evidence for this theory.[118] It seems probable that increases in the pay of soldiers and officers were accompanied by equivalent increases in the salaries of those civil offices to which the military officers were promoted; the terms *sexagenarii*, *centenarii*, *ducenarii* must have come to represent rank, not the actual salary received. It corresponds to this assumption that in Dio's day [119] the salary of the proconsul of Africa amounted to 100,000,000 *sesterces;* it will hardly have been so much when the chief equestrian officials received only 300,000; if it had been multiplied by two and a half, as that of soldiers had probably been, it would have stood in the second century at the more probable figure of 400,000.

In the table at the end I set out for convenience a complete statement of the pay of all ranks as reconstructed here for the period from Augustus to Caracalla.

VII. DEVELOPMENTS IN THE THIRD CENTURY

In the third century the soldiers relied mainly on donatives of gold or payments in kind, but the latter may for some time have been regarded as advances against their pay (see note 75), so that an increase in pay to meet the higher prices prevailing became inevitable. This increase was granted by Maximin.[120] There may have been some further increase of which we know nothing, but if we set this possibility aside we can explain the following facts in a way which confirms the whole nexus of rates of pay proposed in the Table. In the fourth century the centurion (whose functions indeed no longer have the same nature or importance as of old) had come to be called *centenarius;* [121] the change in name is most easily accounted for by the assumption that at a period when pay was still reckoned in sesterces he was paid, as the *procurator centenarius* had once been paid, 100,000 *sesterces*. Certainly he was not, in the fourth century, a tactical commander

[118] Domaszewski cited *CIL.* xiii. 3162, the inscription honouring Sennius Sollemnis, who received a salary of 6,250 *denarii* for 6 months' service with Claudius Paullinus, legate in Britain, in what capacity is obscure—'ad legionem sextam adsedit'. This apparently comes from Elagabalus' reign, but on the hypothesis here presented ordinary centurions already received 12,500 *denarii* at this time. If Domaszewski's reconstruction of tribunician salaries etc. from this inscription were right, it would apply to the early third century, and the rates of pay proposed for centurions and consequently for lower ranks would be too high. (Dessau, *Gesch. d. röm. Kaiserzeit*, i. p. 248, is surely wrong in holding that the *tribunus semestris* was paid for a full year; he cites no evidence.)

[119] Dio, lxxviii. 22, 5.

[120] Hdn., vi. 8, 8; immediately after his usurpation τὰ σιτηρέσια ἐπεδιπλασίασε, νομάς τε καὶ δόσεις μεγίστας ὑπέσχετο κτλ. Domaszewski, *Rh. Mus.*, lviii. p. 383, n. 1, gratuitously supposed that Alexander Severus had reduced pay to the level fixed by Septimius, and that Maximin therefore increased it again only to 1,000 denarii; as Passerini points out, *Athenaeum*, xxiv, pp. 157–8, this would be contrary to what else is known of Alexander's subservience to his soldiers. Passerini's own hypothesis that Maximin raised the pay only of those serving with him is, as he recognises, unnecessary, and seems improbable; if Herodian's words are to be limited at all in their reference, they must be limited to the corps of recruits of whom Maximin was in command and who had raised him to the purple, but it would have been too paradoxical to pay recruits more than veterans.

[121] Veg., ii. 8. Rostovtzeff, *Storia Ec. e Sociale*, p. 556 n. 26 (English edition, p. 622) reads in the Aragua inscription (*CIL.* iii. 14191) 'mil(item) cen(tenarium) frum(entarium)'; if this were certain, it would give further support to the hypothesis that as early as Philip's reign a centurion was receiving 100,000 sesterces—on the assumption that the *frumentarius* was paid as highly as a centurion.

of 100 men, but some kind of military administrative officer.[122] Besides the *centenarius* Vegetius [123] mentions a *ducenarius* whom he identified with the former *princeps hastatus* who had commanded 200 men. The *princeps hastatus* belonged to the *primi ordines* whom we have already taken to have received a rate of pay double that of the ordinary centurion. By analogy with the meaning suggested for *centenarius* the name *ducenarius* should mean an officer receiving 200,000 sesterces. It therefore looks as if the pay of the *primi ordines* has been raised during the third century from 100,000 to 200,000 sesterces.

This theory enables us to offer an explanation of the title *ducenarius* borne by some *protectores*. An inscription reads 'Imp(eratori) Caesari M. Aur(elio) Claudio—vexillationes adque equites itemque praepositi et ducenar(ii) protect(ores) tendentes in Narb(onensi) prov(incia) sub cura Iul(ii) Placidiani v(iri) p(erfectissimi) praefect(i) vigil(um)'.[124] The title of *protector* was certainly borne by some men of equestrian rank [125] but in the context it seems less likely that the reference is to such men than to the high-ranking centurions who were also honoured by the title *protector*. Hence Florius Baudio ('viro ducenario, protectori ex ordinario leg. II Ital. Divit.') is a centurion who has been promoted to the title and rank of the *primi ordines* from an ordinary centurionate.[126] The same would be true of the subject of *CIL.* xi. 837 ('ex centurione praetoriano cohortis VI protector ducenarius') and probably of Marcus Aurelius Processanus ('v.e., ex cent. praet. cohort. VI, prot. ducenario').[127] Confusion is, however, caused by the continuance of the use of the term 'ducenarius' to denote the rank of those high equestrian officials, who in the Antonine era had actually been paid 200,000 *sesterces*. To this class probably belong M. Aurelius Valerius ('v.p. ducen(ari)us ex protectoribus lateris divini'); he had risen to the 'perfectissimate' from being a *protector*.[128] In the career of Trajanus Mucianus [129] it is to be observed that the title 'ducenarius' which stands in the first place after his name has no necessary connection with *protector* and indicates the rank in the equestrian military service to which he finally attained. In the extant parts of the stone Trajanus Mucianus is described as 'protector' (but not 'protector ducenarius') while still centurion in a legion and in the urban units.[130]

From the theory advanced above it certainly does not follow that, as Mommsen thought,[131] all *protectores* once received 200,000 sesterces a year; they must each have been paid the stipend appropriate to their rank. Indeed the phrase *protectores ducenarii* in itself suggests that in the class of men entitled to call themselves *protectores* there was a special class of *ducenarii*; I am here suggesting that this class was constituted by the *primi ordines*.[132]

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[122] Grosse, *Römische Militärgeschichte von Gallienus bis zur Beginn der byzantinischen Themenve-fassung* (Berlin, 1920), pp. 115–7.
[123] *Loc. cit.*
[124] *ILS.* 569.
[125] E.g. *praefecti legionis*, *ILS.* 545, *CIL.* iii. 3529, tribunes of the praetorian guard, 3126, *ILS.* 1332.
[126] *ILS.* 2777.
[127] *ILS.* 2778.
[128] *ILS.* 5695.
[129] *ILS.* 9479.
[130] The supplements proposed by Domaszewski (*Rangordnung*, pp. 185 ff.) for the latter part of the inscription which associate the title 'protector' with the higher ranks that he subsequently held of tribune and legionary prefect are quite uncertain and afford no foundation for Domaszewski's theory of three grades of *protectores*. (Equally, as is well known, Domaszewski was wrong in holding that the protectorate was conferred only on praetorian centurions, cf. *ILS.* 2777, 9479, *CIL.* xiii. 8273, 8291.)
[131] *Ges. Schr.*, viii. p. 439 (*Eph. Ep.*, v. pp. 136–7).
[132] See also *ILS.* 9478, δουκη(ναρίῳ) ἐκ π[ρο]τηκτόρων.

RATES OF PAY IN THE ARMY

All figures in *denarii*.

	Augustus	*Domitian*	*Severus*	*Caracalla*
Legions and *vigiles*:				
1. Privates and *Immunes*	**225**	**300**	*500*	*750*
2. *Sesquiplicarii*	(337½)	(450)	*750*	(1,125)
3. *Duplicarii*	(450)	(600)	*1,000*	*1,500*
4. Highest class of *principales*	(675)	(900)	*1,500*	(2,250)
Urban Cohorts:				
Privates and *Immunes*	*375*	(500)	(833⅓)	(1,250)
Praetorians:				
1. Privates and *Immunes*	*750*	(1,000)	(1,667⅔)	(2,500)
2. *Sesquiplicarii*	(1,125)	(1,500)	(2,500)	(3,725)
3. *Duplicarii*	(1,500)	(2,000)	(3,333⅓)	(5,000)
4. Highest class of *principales*	(2,250)	(3,000)	(5,000)	(7,500)
Evocati	(2,250)	(3,000)	(5,000)	(7,500)
Centurions:				
1. Ordinary	*3,750*	(5,000)	(8,333⅓)	*12,500*
2. *Primi ordines*	*7,500*	(10,000)	(16,666⅔)	*25,000*
Primi pili	*15,000*	(20,000)	(33,333⅓)	(50,000)

NOTES:—

Known figures are in heavy type, figures for which there is evidence not reaching certainty are in italics. All other figures are constructed from the known or probable figures by extrapolation and are enclosed in brackets. (In practice *stipendia* were no doubt always fixed in round figures.) Owing to lack of evidence, no figures are given for *auxilia* or fleet.

Pay of *principales* in the urban cohorts must have borne the same relation to that of privates in those cohorts as the pay of *principales* in the legions to that of legionaries.

The pay of centurions and *primi ordines* was probably graduated according to the seniority of the centurion and the rank of the unit, e.g. praetorian centurions would have been paid more than legionary.

The highest class of *principales* includes *cornicularii* of the praetorian prefect, provincial governors etc., *optiones ad spem*, *decuriones* and centurions in the *auxilia*, *decuriones* in the legions etc., i.e. *principales* who could obtain direct promotion to the centurionate.

TWO MONUMENTAL INSCRIPTIONS OF LEPCIS MAGNA

THE two Latin inscriptions described below were both re-composed during the years 1946–7 in the course of the work of systematisation carried out in the ruins of Lepcis Magna. In the case of the earlier inscription, of Augustus, a small number of inscribed blocks belonging to it had been uncovered during the Italian excavations of 1930–4; but the greater part of the inscription was covered by soil and only brought to light when the fallen west perimeter wall of the Market was re-erected in 1947. It has the distinction of being the earliest dated Latin inscription hitherto found at Lepcis.

The second inscription, of Vespasian and Titus, has no such structural context. Most of its blocks were built into the upper courses of the towers of the main surviving Byzantine Gate of the city; but others were found scattered at street-level in the vicinity of this gate, and had obviously fallen from it. The blocks are inscribed on both faces with parts of two identical texts, and, as explained below, the nature of the bi-frontal inscription suggests that it formerly belonged to a monumental arch, spanning one of the main streets of the city: but the position of this arch cannot be established with any certainty. Certain fragments of this inscription have been published previously; but a relatively complete text is presented here for the first time.

The work of recomposition was directed by the writer on behalf of the British Military Administration, and was executed by the skilled workmen of the Antiquities Department. The Market inscription is, with the exception of its first few blocks, now back *in situ* in the re-erected wall: the inscription of the Flavian Arch, recomposed with the addition of a facsimile of the block which lies in England at Virginia Water (see below p. 77 and note 10), has been placed in the main street of the Roman city close to the Byzantine Gate. The writer must express his gratitude to Professor Giacomo Caputo, Superintendent of Monuments in Tripolitania, for his friendly collaboration in the completion of this work.[1]

1. *The Latin Dedication of the Market* (Fig. 1: Pl. XXVIII)

The Market of Lepcis was excavated by the late Professor Giacomo Guidi between the years 1929 and 1934, but owing to the excavator's premature death the work was not completed and no report has yet been published.[2] An incomplete neo-Punic inscription on two curved blocks, found in the sandstone and marble *tholos* and read by Levi Della Vida,[3] recorded that the edifice had been either constructed or repaired in 9–8 B.C. by a certain *Annobal Himilchonis Tapapi f. Rufus*, who is also known as the munificent constructor of the Lepcis Theatre in A.D. 1–2. As the Market is essentially Roman

[1] The texts are nos. 319 (Market) and 342 (Flavian Arch) of *The Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania*, now in preparation for publication by the British School at Rome.

[2] A plan and a brief description appear in the Italian Touring Club Guide 'Libia' (1938 edn.) p. 326. Dr. Nevio Degrassi is preparing a more detailed account of the building.

[3] The inscription, numbered *Tripol. 27* by Prof. Levi Della Vida, was first published in *Africa Italiana* VI (1935) pp. 3–15. Following discoveries of similar inscriptions in the Theatre of Lepcis, a revised text was published in the same volume, p. 109. It is discussed by Prof. S. Aurigemma in *Africa Italiana* VIII (1940) pp. 12–16.

in character, it seemed most probable that this neo-Punic text referred to the actual construction and dedication; but the absence of any equivalent Latin text seemed strange.

The west wall of the Market, which fell outwards in late antiquity and was covered by sand-dunes, was encountered at two points in the course of the Italian excavations and several inscribed blocks of sandstone were brought to light, including the name . . . ANNOBAL . . .[4] It was established at that time that the inscription continued along the whole length of the fallen wall, on its under surface, but the excavation was not continued. During 1947, at the suggestion of Mr. J. B. Ward Perkins, the Antiquities Department decided to uncover and re-erect the fallen wall, as only by such action could the inscription be read without prejudice to any subsequent scheme of restoration. This work of re-erection, necessarily slow, was completed by the end of the year, and included the restoration of a small arched doorway, with a *caduceus* motif carved on its keystone—a fitting tribute to Mercury, the divinity of commerce—above which the first part of the inscription had been cut. This Augustan doorway had been blocked in a second period, when the Market was provided with larger entrances, each with characteristic moulded bases and Corinthian capitals to its side pilasters. It was at this period, too, that the Augustan inscription, already eroded in places, was finally plastered over and ceased to be visible.[5] It was necessary, in 1947, to chip away the later coatings of plaster in order to reveal the underlying inscription, a delicate operation in view of the soft character of the stone itself. This plaster, on the exterior face of the wall, had a geometrical motif of incised circles, with a painted horizontal guilloche border. On the interior face of the wall, at the same level as the inscription, was a painted frieze of cupids with garlands.

The Augustan inscription is cut in letters of 15 cm. height on the sandstone blocks of the eighth and ninth courses above the limestone footing-course, which runs around the whole perimeter of the Market walls. Its height is 3.5 metres above the level of the street, on to which it faces. The wall had already received a coat of stucco before the lapicide started work, as is shown by the fact that his lines are not absolutely parallel to the courses of the blocks. Above the doorway—which had smaller side entrances, and appears to have been the main entrance on this side of the Market—the inscription consisted of one line only, giving the titles of Augustus. But to the right of the doorway, a second line was added, in order to complete the text within the available space. This arrangement is curious, and suggests that to the left of the doorway there existed a duplicate text, perhaps in neo-Punic; but trial trenches cut in 1949 showed that the upper courses of the wall, which would have contained such an inscription, are missing. When the area outside the market wall is eventually excavated, some traces of this duplicate text may come to light: at the moment its existence remains hypothetical.

On the accompanying diagram (Fig. 1)[5a] the blocks of the upper course are numbered A 1–16, and those of the lower course B 1–17. Blocks A 2–3 and B 1–3 were displaced

[4] These discoveries are noted in the MS *Relazioni Settimanali* of the excavations (conserved in the archives of the Soprintendenza ai Monumenti e Scavi at Tripoli) under the dates 24 August 1930, and 12, 19 and 26 August 1934.

[5] The construction of the new west door of the Market involved the removal of the blocks containing the first part of the titles of Augustus. Thus the inscription had already suffered mutilation, and no further purpose was served in leaving it exposed.

[5a] Block B17 should be displaced 12–15 cm. further to the right in the diagram (Fig. 1).

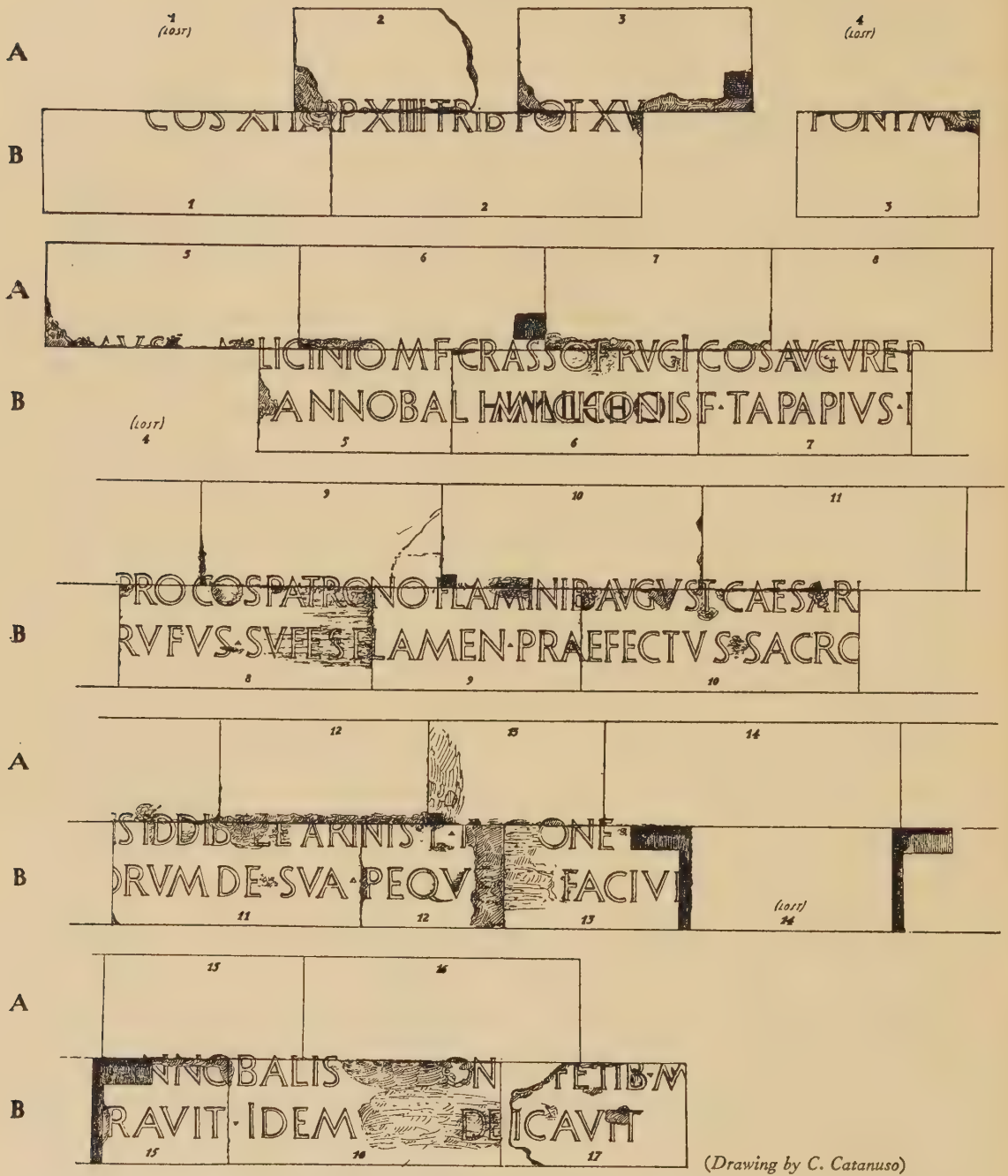

FIG. 1.—DEDICATORY INSCRIPTION OF THE AUGUSTAN MARKET.

from their original positions during the Italian excavations of 1930–1934: A 5–16 and B 5–15 were found in 1947, lying face downwards and in correct juxta-position in the undisturbed sector of the fallen wall. B 16, found during the Italian excavation, had been replaced—in its correct original position—on the top of the section of the Market wall reconstructed at that time: B 17 was, however, found in 1947 amongst scattered blocks removed during the Italian excavation.

The loss of blocks A 4 and B 4 (which may, however, come to light at some future date, when the excavated area is extended), and the damage to the lower part of the face of A 3, make it impossible to prove that B 3 followed immediately after B 2. It seems, however, inherently probable that the PONT M . . . of B 3 is to be associated with the . . . MVS of A 5, and that the title *pont(ifex) maximus* occupied on this inscription, as on several others of the same period, the final place in the imperial titles.[6]

The inscription consists of three parts, as follows:—

a. *Single line of text, above the west door of the market:*

. . . . COS XI IMP XIIII TRIB POT XV PONT M[axi]MVS

b. *Upper line in continuation of* a.

M LICINIO M F CRASSO FRVGI COS AVGVRE PROCOS PATRONO FLAMINIB AVGVST CAESARIS IDDIB[a]LE ARINIS F . . . ONE . . . . . a]NNOBALIS [f] . . . ON. [su]FETIB M . . . . . .

c. *Lower line, below* b.

ANNOBAL IMILCHONIS F TAPAPIVS RVFVS SVFES FLAMEN PRAEFECTVS SACRORVM DE SVA PEQV[nia] FACIVN[dum coe]RAVIT IDEM[que] DE[d]ICAVIT.

On block B 6, at the beginning of part (c) of the text, the name HIMILCHO is cut over the original version IMILCHONIS. That *Himilcho*, with an initial *H*, was the form of this Punic name adopted in Latin epigraphy is shown by the later inscriptions of the Theatre (A.D. 1–2), and it would appear probable that the lapicide, having already carved IMILCHONIS F, was ordered to re-cut the name in its correct form. Owing to lack of space he could not merely add an initial H at the beginning of the name, nor could he find room for *Himilchonis f.* Thus the problem could only be solved by abbreviating the name to its nominative form Himilcho. It must be emphasised, however, that as the whole inscription was subsequently plastered over, it cannot be determined by inspection which form of the name was in fact the original one: yet if the change had been from Himilcho to Imilchonis, it would have been easier to fill in the initial H with plaster, rather than to re-cut the whole name.

The whole inscription can be restored without much difficulty, thanks to the survival of the greater part of the neo-Punic text, and to Professor Levi Della Vida's previous (and now fully vindicated) interpretation of that text. The emperor, as the titles reveal, must be Augustus; and it is significant that the imperial name was carved on a single line ranged symmetrically over the original main entrance doorway of the

[6] Dessau, *ILS* 97 (from Ephesus), 102 (milestone from Cordova), 6754 and 6755.

Market. The first section of part (b), containing the name and titles of the proconsul, is not represented on the surviving portion of the neo-Punic text, and must have occupied the missing third block. Following this, we have the names of the two *flamines* and two *sufetes* in office at the time of the dedication: this represents the second line of the neo-Punic text. Part (c) represents the third line of the neo-Punic text, omitting only the phrase 'son of Arim' which, in the neo-Punic version, follows the title *praefectus sacrorum*. The same omission occurs also in the bi-lingual Theatre inscriptions, and may have some special significance.[7]

Using the neo-Punic text to fill the lacunae of the Latin inscription, we may restore the latter as follows:—

[Imp(erator) Caesar divi f(ilius) Augustus] co(n)s(ul) XI imp(erator) XIIII trib(unicia) pot(estate) XV pont(ifex) m[axi]mus.
M(arco) Licinio M(arci) f(ilio) Crasso Frugi co(n)s(ule) augure proco(n)s(ule) patrono flaminib(us) August(i) Caesaris Iddib[a]le Arinis f(ilio) [. . .]one [?et Ammicar A]nnobalis f(ilio) [. . .]on[. su]fetib(us) M[uttun Annonis f(ilio) . . . .] Annobal Imilchonis f(ilius) ⟨*corrected to*: Himilcho⟩ Tapapius Rufus sufes flamen praefectus sacrorum de sua pequ[nia] faciun[dum coe]ravit idem[que] de[d]icavit.

In the above restoration the name of the second flamen, written as *Abdelmelqart* in the Neo-Punic, is transcribed into Latin as *Ammicar*, a name of Punic origin found in Latin inscriptions from Africa (*CIL* VIII 68, 10525 bis). Although this transcription is not attested by any known bilingual texts, it may be assumed that a latinised version of Abdelmelqart must have existed; and the transcription *Boncar* for *Bodmelqart*, encountered at Lepcis, would seem to provide an analogy. The names Muttun and Anno (= Hanno) are both already known in Latin inscriptions from Africa (*CIL* VIII 8714—Muttun; Merlin, *Inscr. Tunis.* 732—Anno), and would not have required transcription from their original Punic form. Following the name and parentage of Iddibal, the first flamen, we have a six-letter word, of which only the last three letters . . . ONE have survived: in the neo-Punic text this word is complete and is transcribed by Levi Della Vida as 'Pyln', although its meaning is obscure. It may be a family name, but could represent a municipal or religious office. Ammicar's name and parentage are followed by another six-letter word, of which only the fourth and fifth letters . . . ON. are legible. This may perhaps be the same word as the . . . ONE which follows the name of Iddibal, in which case one would be tempted to restore both as [*Pil*]*one*, leaving the interpretation to conjecture; but it must be noted that in the neo-Punic text the corresponding place is taken by a longer phrase which Levi Della Vida translates as 'executor of the sacrifice *selem* of the first fruits'. There is no six-letter Latin word ending in . . . ONE which could convey the meaning of this Punic phrase, and we must therefore presume that the Latin and the neo-Punic texts vary at this point.

Thus the Latin text of the Market dedication cannot be said to add much to our existing knowledge of the municipal and religious offices in Augustan Lepcis, although it

[7] In the Theatre inscription (Levi Della Vida, in *Africa Italiana* VI (1935) p. 104), 'son of Arim' occupies a position which would lead one to conclude that this Arim was the grandfather of Annobal Rufus. In the neo-Punic inscription of the Market, however, 'son of Arim' follows immediately after the offices of Annobal himself, suggesting that Arim was the father. Possibly the phrase is not genealogical in a rigid sense, but tribal—a fact which would explain its omission on the Latin inscriptions which strove to present Annobal Rufus in fully romanised guise.

is useful to have firm confirmation of the facts already deduced so brilliantly by Levi Della Vida. It is also satisfactory to learn that the Market was constructed in 9–8 B.C. at the expense of Annobal Rufus, and was not merely restored, as has previously been suggested.[8]

The real importance of the inscription lies, however, in the field of prosopography. M. Licinius M. f. Crassus Frugi, consul, augur, proconsul of Africa and patronus of Lepcis, whose name and titles must have appeared on the third and missing block of the neo-Punic inscription, is none other than the consul of 14 B.C. Although the consular *fasti* omit the cognomen Frugi, which later members of the same family bore, Cichorius rightly deduced that this individual must have had this same cognomen. His suggestion, now confirmed beyond dispute, was rejected by Groag for reasons which need not here be discussed.[9] It is perhaps typical of the great epigraphic wealth of Lepcis that a prosopographical problem of some importance should be solved definitively by a discovery in this African city. Marcus Licinius Crassus is also a welcome addition to the proconsular fasti of Africa, which will have to be re-written in the light of the discoveries made in Tripolitania during the last thirty years.

2. *The Dedication of the Flavian Arch* (Figs. 2 and 3: Pl. XXIX)

Shortly before visiting Lepcis for the first time in the summer of 1946, the writer photographed and copied an inscribed block which lies today at Virginia Water, Surrey, beside the sham 'ruins', erected in 1824 from architectural fragments which Commander W. H. Smyth had exported from Lepcis in 1817.[10] On this block (Pl. XXIX, 2) the words . . AFRICAN . . / . . AFRICAE . . appear on one face in monumental characters 20 cm. high, and . ANVS PO . . / . . CAE PAT . . on the opposite face. A search was subsequently made at Lepcis for other fragments of the same inscription, and 14 further blocks, inscribed on both faces with two lines of inscription, in letters of 20–21 cm., were found either built into the upper courses of the Byzantine Gate, or lying scattered in the immediate vicinity.[11] The blocks built into the gate were removed without serious detriment to the fabric of this important monument of Byzantine Lepcis, and the whole inscription reconstituted, after careful study of the individual blocks. This task was greatly facilitated by the fact that the same inscription was carved on both faces of the original structure, thereby fixing precise limits to the *lacunae*.

Out of the fifteen surviving blocks belonging to this inscription (one at Virginia Water; fourteen at Lepcis itself), only six have been published in their entirety, and five have not been published at all. Of the remaining four blocks, only one face has been

[8] Guidi (*Africa Romana*, Milano, 1935, p. 245) described the Market as 'punico-romano', and interpreted an unusual type of column and capital as representing the remains of a pre-Roman structure. Re-examination of the problem has, however, shown that none of the surviving features of the Market ante-date the work of Annobal Rufus in 9–8 B.C. The adjective 'punico' may therefore be rejected.

[9] Dessau, *PIR* II, 276; Pauly-Wissowa, *RE* XIII, 285 No. 59, and cf. 339 No. 73.

[10] Smyth's activities at Lepcis are described briefly in the Beecheys' *Proceedings of the Expedition to Explore the Northern Coast of Africa from Tripoli Eastward in 1821–22*, London, 1828, pp. 72–8. The inscribed block was apparently sent to England in H.M.S. 'Weymouth' in 1817, together with other Lepcis fragments and many columns: one face of the block was copied by Osann while this material lay in the courtyard of the British Museum. Wilmanns, publishing the fragment as *CIL* VIII 9, correctly deduced its origin, and its association with the fragments published as *CIL* VIII 8.

[11] The fragments appearing as *CIL* VIII 8 (less *a* and *g*, which do not belong to the present inscription) were copied by Kallenberg. Their position in the upper courses of the Byzantine Gate rendered them visible long before excavations commenced at Lepcis.

FIG. 2.—DEDICATION OF THE FLAVIAN ARCH (*recto*).

published in each case. An additional block, now lost, appears to be published in the *Corpus*. The state of publication may be tabulated as follows:—

Blocks A 2, A 4 and A 6	*Unpublished*
Block B 1	*Bartoccini* Frag VI (complete)
,, B 2	*Unpublished*
,, B 3	*Romanelli* Frag 3 (complete)
,, B 6	*Bartoccini* Frag V (*verso* only)
,, C 1	*CIL* VIII, 8f (*verso* only) *Romanelli*, Frag 2 (complete)
,, C 3	*CIL* VIII, 8b (*recto* only) *Bartoccini* Frag II (complete)
,, C 4 (Virginia W.)	*CIL* VIII, 9 (*verso* only)
,, C 5	*Bartoccini* Frag IV (*verso* only)
,, D 1	*Unpublished*
,, D 2	*CIL* VIII, 8d and 8e (complete)
,, D 3	*Romanelli* Frag 1 (complete) *Bartoccini* Frag I (complete)
,, D 4 (Lost)	?*CIL* VIII, 8c (*verso* only)
,, D 5	*Bartoccini* Frag III (*verso* only)

(P. Romanelli, *Leptis Magna* (1926) pp. 86–7; R. Bartoccini in *Rivista della Tripolitania*, Anno II (1926) p. 69 = *L'Année Epigraphique*, 1926, No. 155. Fragments *a* and *g* of *CIL* VIII 8 do not belong to this inscription.)

It cannot be doubted that further excavation in the area of the Byzantine Gate of Lepcis would bring to light additional blocks; but the existing portions of the inscription are sufficient to reintegrate the complete text.

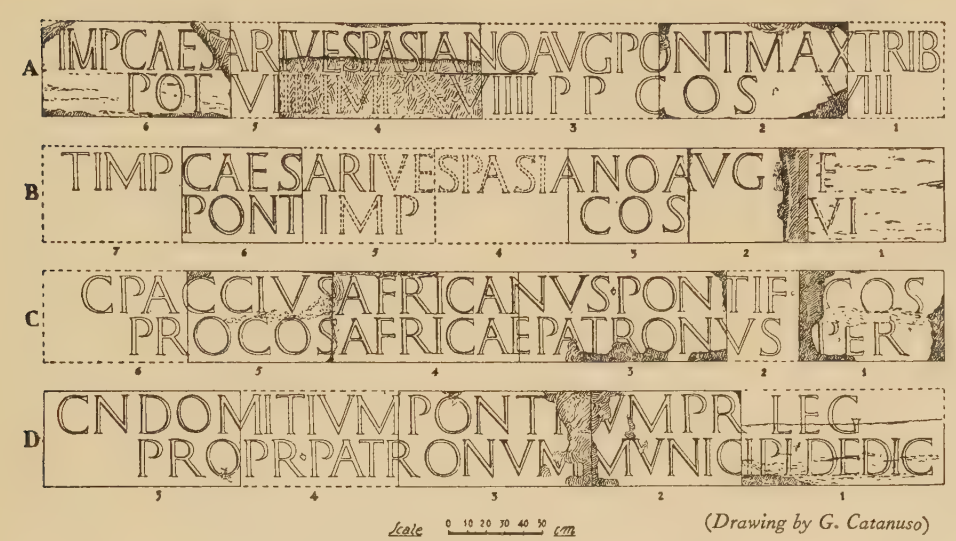

FIG. 3.—DEDICATION OF THE FLAVIAN ARCH (*verso*).

On examination, the blocks were found to fit readily into four groups, two groups giving imperial titles, one group giving the name and offices of a *proconsul* in the nominative, and the fourth group giving the name of a *legatus propraetore* in the accusative after the preposition *per*. The two latter groups (C and D) proved most easy to recompose, their original length being determined in each case as 4·90 metres. They read as follows:—

Group C Recto: C PAC[ci]VS AFRICANVS PONTIF [cos] PR[oc]OS AFRICAE PATRONV[s per

Verso: c pa]CCIVS AFRICANVS PON[tif] COS [pr]OCOS AFRICAE PATRONV[s] PER

Group D Recto: CN DOMITIVM PON[ti . um] PR LEG PRO PR PATRONVM [muni]CIPI DEDIC

Verso: CN DOM[itium] PONTI[.]VM PR LEG PRO [pr pat]RONVM MVNICIPI DEDIC

It will be seen that the only letters missing in both recto and verso texts of these two groups are the final S of *patronus*, and the sixth letter of the cognomen of *Cn. Domitius*. The latter can be restored beyond any reasonable doubt as C, giving the name *Ponticus*.

Groups A and B, with their imperial titles, are less complete than C and D; but they were clearly of the same length—4·90 metres—a fact which assists their recomposition. They have been pieced together as follows:—

Group A Recto: imp] CAESARI V[espasia]NO AVG PO[nt max tr]IB POT VI . . . . . VIIII PP C[o]S VIII

Verso: IMP CAESA[r]I VESPASIAN[o aug p]ONT MAX [trib] POT [vi . . . . . viiii pp] COS V[iii

Group B Recto: T IMP CAESARI [vespasian]O AVG [f] PONT I[mp . . . .] COS [vi

Verso: t imp] CAES[ari vespasi]ANO AVG F PONT [imp . . . .] COS VI

Of these two groups, A offers the least difficulties, its only eccentricity being the minor one of splitting *trib. pot.* between the first and second lines of the verso text. Group B is, however, unorthodox in two respects. First, the formula *T. Imp. Caesari* is unusual in a monumental inscription [12]; and second, the complete omission of the *tribunicia potestas* is most strange. The readings are, however, perfectly clear on the stones, and it is certain that the first block of the recto text does read T IMP, and not—as might be conjectured—[E]T IMP.[12a] To reject any individual blocks as not belonging to the inscription would be rash in view of the complete absence at Lepcis of any similar bi-frontal texts inscribed in letters of 20 cm.

The figures VIII and VI for the consulships of Vespasian and Titus show that the inscription must belong to the period between 1 Jan 77 and 31 Dec 78: it must also be earlier than 1 July 78 since the incomplete figure for *tribunicia potestas* is less than X. This figure should, in fact, be restored as VI[III], for Vespasian is shown as having received his nineteenth imperial salutation, whilst an imperial letter (*CIL* II 1423), securely dated to 29 July 77, gives the titles *trib. pot. viiii imp. xiix.* The Lepcis inscription must therefore be later than that date, and belong to the period 30 July 77–30 June 78. At what date in this period Vespasian received his nineteenth imperial salutation is uncertain, existing texts providing no information.

From these considerations the text of the inscription may be restored as follows:—

Imp(eratori) Caesari Vespasiano Aug(usto) pont(ifici) max(imo) [tr]ib(uniciae) pot(estatis) VI[III imp(eratori) X]VIIII p(atri) p(atriae) co(n)s(uli) VIII

T(ito) Imp(eratori) Caesari [Vespasi]ano Aug(usti) f(ilio) pont(ifici) i[mp(eratori) XII *or* XIII] co(n)s(uli) VI

C(aius) Paccius Africanus pontif(ex) co(n)s(ul) proco(n)s(ul) Africae patronus per

Cn(aeum) Domitium Ponti[c]um pr(aetorem) leg(atum) pro pr(aetore) patronum municipi dedic(avit)

Of the two personages recorded in the latter part of the inscription, the legatus Cn. Domitius Ponticus is a new addition to prosopography, and nothing is known of his previous or subsequent career. The proconsul, C. Paccius Africanus, is however, an historical figure, being the senator mentioned by Tacitus as the accuser of the Scribonii in 67. It is interesting to find him holding high office ten years later, despite the attacks made on him in the senate at the beginning of Vespasian's reign. The date of his consulship is not on record. The Lepcis inscription was, at the time of its integration in 1946, the first known epigraphic record of Paccius Africanus; but in 1948 M. Marec,

[12] The formula T IMP AVG F does, however, occur in certain short inscriptions, *e.g.* Dessau, *ILS* 8629, 8704a, 8710 and the recently discovered bronze tablet from Valentia Banasa (R. Thouvenot, *Valentia Banasa*, Paris, 1941, p. 78, No. 48). On an inscription from Faleri Novi, now in the Farnese Palace at Caprarola, we find the formula T IMP CAESARE AVG F. (Dessau, *ILS*, 999).

[12a] See postscript, p. 82.

director of excavations at Bône (Algeria), discovered an inscription cut in the pavement slabs of the Forum of the ancient Hippo, in which the name of the same proconsul re-appears, although without evidence of date. In this Bône inscription we find the same public offices enumerated: pont(ifex), co(n)s(ul), proco(n)s(ul), patronus municipii (of Hippo).[13] It is a curious coincidence that two records of the same individual, previously completely unknown to epigraphy, should have been found within so short an interval of time.

From the fact that the blocks of the Lepcis inscription were built into the Byzantine Gate, we can only deduce that the monument to which they belonged was either already ruined at the time of the Justinian reconquest of Africa, or that it was demolished as were, apparently, the temples of the Forum Vetus, to provide materials for the new city wall of that period. To identify the original monument is, however, most difficult, although there are certain pointers which may help us to arrive at an acceptable hypothesis. First, it must be noted that the four groups constituting the inscription could only have been arranged vertically, and not horizontally.[14] This fact disposes of any suggestion that they might have formed the architrave of a colonnade. Second, the total length of 4·90 metres for each of the four groups, and the spacing of the lettering, show that the lapicide was working between clearly-defined lateral limits—limits which correspond closely to the width of the main street of first-century Lepcis in the area of the Byzantine Gate. Third, the bi-frontal character of the text is only paralleled at Lepcis by the inscription of the arch of Tiberius which spanned this same main street close to the Market.[15]

From these facts one can hardly avoid the conclusion that the Flavian inscription belonged to a monumental arch, similar in character to that of Tiberius. The Flavian arch would have differed from the earlier one only in the size of the lettering of its inscription, which was obviously planned to be clearly legible from either direction. We may suspect that the difficulty of reading the text of the Tiberian arch inscription may have had its influence on the choice of such bold characters for its successor. The motives which caused the erection of this Flavian arch cannot easily be conjectured: unlike the case of the Tiberian arch, its inscription gives no indication of these motives. Yet it is perhaps significant that the later Byzantine Gate marks a change of alignment in the main street, and that the two other arches in this street, of Tiberius and Trajan, both served to mask irregularities in the town-plan. It may well be, therefore, that the blocks built into the upper courses of the Byzantine Gate had originally belonged to an arch on the same site, demolished in the course of the gate's construction. If the arch did not stand at this point, it must have stood in an area not yet excavated, for there are no traces in the main street north and south of the Byzantine Gate of any arch foundations to which the Flavian inscription might have belonged. There was, certainly, an arched entrance to the Forum itself, with gates to close the Forum area to wheeled traffic, but its width appears, from the existing remains, too small to suit that of the inscription.

[13] Tacitus, *Hist.* 4, 41. I am indebted to M. Marec for permission to refer to the Bône inscription, now published in *C.R.Acad. I.*, 1948, 559.

[14] Had the four groups been arranged horizontally, their sequence would have been reversed on one face, and the text would not have made sense.

[15] Both the four-sided Trajanic arch, and the simpler Tiberian one, on the main Cardo of Lepcis, served to mask changes of alignment in the street. The Tiberian arch measures 4.72 metres in width, which compares closely with the 4.90 metres of the Flavian inscription. See P. Romanelli, 'Gli Archi di Tiberio e di Traiano in Leptis Magna', *Africa Italiana* VII (1940) pp. 87–105.

On the other hand, it must be remembered that there is no reason to assume that the materials used in the Byzantine Gate necessarily came from its immediate vicinity. Indeed one inscription, adapted as a voussoir in the lintel of the gate, demonstrably came from the Curia, some distance away. In these circumstances it is perhaps wiser to retain an open mind in this question and to hope that future excavations may reveal the base of the arch to which the inscription of Paccius Africanus belonged. Meanwhile we may be content with the dated epigraphic evidence of this senator's African proconsulship.[16]

R. G. GOODCHILD

Postscript: A brief note, with photograph, on the Flavian Arch inscription was contributed by the writer to *Fasti Archaeologici*, I, 1946 (published 1948), 263–4, no. 2072 and fig. 81. A provisional text of the inscription, based on that photograph, has since appeared in *L'Année Epigraphique*, 1949, 32–3 (no. 84). For the reasons already anticipated above (p. 80), M. Merlin, editor of *L'Année Epigraphique*, has proposed the reading [E]T IMP at the beginning of the first line of group B, and has also restored the *tribunicia potestas* of Titus. The facsimile drawings published above (Figs. 2–3) will show that these readings, however desirable from a purely epigraphic viewpoint, cannot be accepted.

[16] In his article 'L'ordinamento di Leptis Magna nel primo secolo dell'impero e la sua costituzione a municipio romano', *Epigraphica*, VII–1945 (1946), Dr. N. Degrassi has discussed at some length (note 4, pp. 8–9) the significance of the published fragments of this Flavian inscription. That article was written before the recent work had been carried out and its proposed attribution of the inscription to Domitian, and to a proconsul Domitius, must be rejected in the light of our fuller knowledge of the text. So, too, for the reasons stated in note 14, above, must we reject the suggestion that the inscription belonged to one of the porticoes in the Forum Vetus.

ROMAN MILESTONES IN CYRENAICA

THE ancient coast road of Libya which runs close to the shore from Berenice (Benghasi) to Teuchira (Tocra) and Ptolemais (Tolmeita) later swings inland to reach Cyrene, and climbs to the second plateau of the Gebel Akhdar (some 500 metres above sea-level), which it reaches in the vicinity of Messa. From Messa eastwards the road can be traced without difficulty, in the form of a shallow cutting in the rock (probably of Greek origin), to Zavia Beda where the remains of the Roman town of Balagrae are still visible.[1] On the Peutinger Map Balagrae is marked as 12 Roman miles from Cyrene, and this figure is accurate if one follows the course of the old road from Beda to the south gate of Cyrene. For its last three kilometres before reaching Cyrene, the ancient road is very clearly visible as a sunk track cut in the rock, with numerous wheel-ruts, and with ancient tombs flanking it. It is far from straight and makes several sharp bends, but there is no indication that Roman engineers attempted to eliminate these eccentricities when the road became one of the highways of the Empire.

Roman milestones previously found in the area of Cyrene have all come from the Cyrene–Apollonia road,[2] and the Trajanic column which marked the first mile on that route was found in 1915 by Italian military engineers in the course of bringing back into use the long-abandoned Roman road, which descends the upper escarpment of the Gebel. The column is now in the Museum at Cyrene, but its exact original site can be identified from photographs taken at the time of its discovery: [3] it stood a little east of the large circular tomb immediately below the gallery which now houses the greater part of the ancient sculpture from the Italian excavations. With this fixed point thus established, one can easily determine the 'zero-point' from which milestone distances were measured along the roads radiating from Cyrene; a distance of 1480 metres from the Trajanic pillar along the curving road to the city (Fig. 1) brings one to the intersection of the two main streets of Cyrene, in the centre of the walled area, and in a hollow between the eastern and western hills. Apart from a colonnade, re-erected by Italian archaeologists, and dubiously identified as a Gymnasium, this part of ancient Cyrene remains to be excavated, and there is no ready means of ascertaining whether a milestone stood at this 'zero-point'.[4]

If we measure a further 1480 metres southwards from this street-intersection, passing through the site of the South Gate of Cyrene, we reach the point at which the early Italian military road to Beda, now little used, leaves the line of the ancient road, the latter continuing as a deep cutting between tombs. During February 1947 the writer

[1] A small area of Balagrae was excavated by the Italian antiquities service in 1920; but no account of this excavation has ever been published. For earlier discoveries on this site see *Rendic. R. Acc. dei Lincei* XXVII (1918) 356 ff.

[2] The modern road Cyrene–Apollonia is coincident with the ancient road for a large part of its course, except at the descent of the lower escarpment near Apollonia.

[3] *Notiziario Archeologico* I (1915) 175–6, and figs. 52 and 55.

[4] The selection of points from which mileages were measured seems to have varied according to region and period. In Rome the mileages were measured from the gates of the Servian Wall and not from the *Miliarium Aureum* in the centre of the city. In other cases the centre of the town was the selected point. (Daremberg-Saglio, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités*, III, 1898).

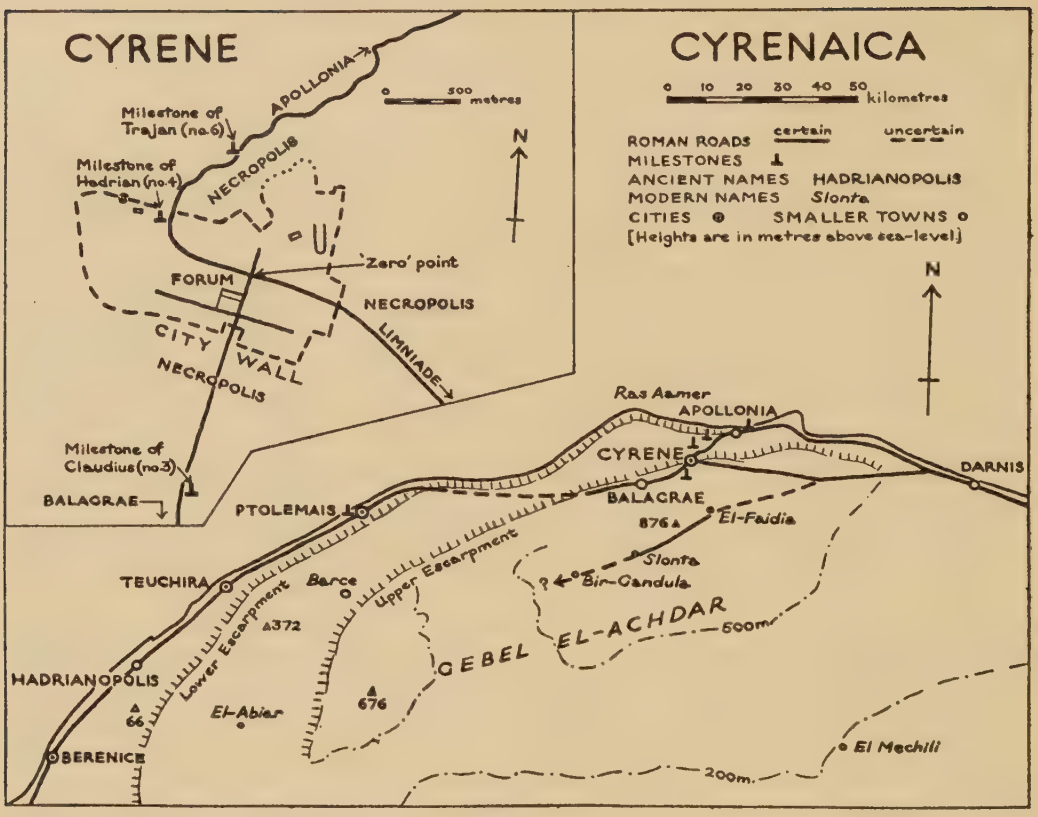

FIG. 1.

carefully examined the surface of the soil at this point, in the hope of finding some trace of the first Roman milestone on the Cyrene-Balagrae road. This hope was rapidly realised, for a small sector of a plain limestone column was found emerging from the soil. Excavation soon established that this was the lower part of a Roman milestone with characteristic cubical base.[5] Search for the upper part of the column was no less successful, its two fragments being found close beside the base: the exposed surfaces of the shaft were heavily weathered, but by good fortune the greater part of the inscription lay on the underside, and was thus intact.

The complete milestone (Pl. XXVII, 1–2) has now been re-composed and re-erected on its original site.[6] It is a column of brown Cyrene limestone, with its attached base 65 cm. square and 60 cm. in height. Above this base rises the shaft, 2·53 m. high and tapering from 59 to 56 cm. from base to its flat summit. Thus the complete milestone stands 3·13 m. high. In ancient times it stood even higher above the road level, for the base was

[5] All the early milestones (first two centuries A.D.) in Cyrenaica have cubical bases attached to the shaft. The third-century milestones in Tripolitania invariably have separate bases with a recessed socket, into which the column fitted. The latter system must have been more convenient for the transportation of large numbers of milestones along desert tracks. Cf. R. G. Goodchild, *Roman Roads and Milestones in Tripolitania* (Tripoli, 1948), 7.

[6] The column has been re-erected on the small masonry platform on which it originally stood. The work of restoration was carried out in 1947 by Sig. Salvatore Minniti, to whose technical skill Cyrene already owes so much.

found to have fallen from a small masonry platform erected on the edge of the Roman road: time did not permit the clearance of soil from this platform, and its height above road level is not known.

The inscription, cut in regular letters 6 cm. high, reads as follows:—

TI CLAVDIVS
CAESAR AVG
GERMANICVS
P M TRIB POT V[.?
IMP XI P P COS [iii
DESIGNAT IIII
RESTITVIT ANN[o
. . AESERNI VEIENTON[is
PRO COS
. . . . . (illegible)
I

The lower part of the text, below the main fracture, is badly weathered, and the bottom line is illegible apart from two indistinct vertical strokes. The right-hand edge of the text above the fracture is also weathered, and lines 4, 5, 7 and 8 may have contained one or more additional letters. In line 4, the figure following *Trib Pot* may have been greater. *Cos*, in line 5, must have been followed by III, as the next line shows. These first six lines of the text call for little comment; they indicate a date between 25 January 45 and 31 December 46, or possibly, if the *tribunicia potestas* figure were V[I], between 25 January and 31 December of the latter year.

The remaining lines are more difficult to restore. Following *restituit* we have the letters ANN . . , and in the next line the name of the proconsul in the genitive case. Although the two Ns are badly weathered the reading seems certain, and it would appear that the text read *restituit ann[o]* [? *C]aeserni Veienton[is*: such a method of dating milestones by a proconsular year is, however, difficult to parallel closely.[7] The last line, illegible, may have contained either the name of the province *Cretae et Cyrenarum* or that of the individual or military detachment by whose care the actual work of repair was executed. The mileage figure 'I' which follows accords, as already demonstrated, with the actual distance from the 'zero-point' in the centre of Cyrene.

Following this discovery, a search was made for a further milestone site on the line of the ancient road 1480 metres further to the south. Lying partly exposed and incorporated in a field boundary were observed four fragmentary shafts of limestone columns, which clearly did not belong to any adjacent tomb or building. On examination, however, these columns proved to be heavily weathered and no inscriptions were legible, although the letter Σ on one shaft showed that at least one inscription had previously existed. From the shape and nature of these broken shafts it can hardly be doubted that they did, in fact, mark the second mile from Cyrene towards Balagrae; but any historical and epigraphic evidence they might once have provided is irretrievably lost.

[7] Mr. Hugh Last has kindly drawn my attention to Dessau, *ILS* 9375 as a Tiberian example of dating by the proconsular year. A second-century example of the use of the word *anno* followed by the proconsul's name is provided by an inscription from Kairouan in Tunisia (Cagnat-Merlin, *Inscr. lat. d'Afrique*, no. 80).

Our existing knowledge of the Roman roads of Cyrenaica is still most scanty, despite the intense archaeological activity of the thirty years of Italian administration. Not all the relatively few milestones found in that period have been published, and those that have been published require, in some cases, revision of their texts. It may be useful, therefore, as a starting-point for the systematic study of these roads, to list all the previous discoveries of milestones and to indicate such corrections to the readings of their inscriptions as seem necessary.

A. *Road Teuchira-Ptolemais.*

(1) Lower part of milestone of uncertain date, with mileage figure 'A', found west of Ptolemais, between the Hellenistic Mausoleum and the Wadi Chambisc. (First mile from Ptolemais). Published by Oliverio, *Documenti Antichi dell'Africa Italiana*, II (1936) fasc. 2, no. 492, p. 246 (= *SEG* IX 413). Now in Tolmeita Museum.

B. *Road Ptolemais-Cyrene.*

(2) Remains of two probable milestones at second mile from Cyrene (see above). No legible inscriptions.

(3) Milestone of Claudius (A.D. 45–46) at first mile from Cyrene (see above). Re-erected *in situ*.

C. *Cyrene: inside City Walls.*

(4) In 1933 a milestone of Hadrian was excavated by the Italian archaeological mission outside the Trajanic Baths (near the Fountain of Apollo), and beside the main street leading to the North Gate of the city. As this milestone has no mileage figure in its inscription and lies midway between the established 'zero-point' (above, p. 84) and the first (Trajanic) milestone on the road to Apollonia, it must be considered as a special stone, marking the limit of the road-repairs which it commemorates. This interpretation is confirmed by the fact that the column was found beside a large pedestal, with moulded plinth and cornice, 1·60 m. square and 1·50 m. high. A recess in the upper surface of the pedestal seems to have been intended to receive the milestone base.

The column is 2·72 m. high, consisting of a cubical base 50 cm. high, and a shaft of 2·22 m. There is a taper of 59 to 56 cm. diameter from base to summit. The inscription is well-cut, the letters of the first line being 12 cm. high, and the remainder 7–9 cm. It reads:—

IMP CAES DIVI
TRAIANI PARTHICI F
DIVI NERVAE NEPOS
TRAIANVS HADR[ianus
AVG PM TP II COS [iii
VIAM QVAE TVM[ultu iuda
ICO EVERSA ET C[orrupta
ERAT R[estit]VIT
PER MIL COH . . . . . .

The text of this inscription has been restored from the previously-recorded specimen (below, No. 8*b*) at the fifth mile towards Apollonia. The new example completes the last line (fragmentary in No. 8*b*), except for the designation of the cohort which is unfortunately lost. The column remains where it was found. Pl. XXVII, 3.

D. *Cyrene area: uncertain provenience.*

(5) In the Museum at Cyrene is the lower part of a milestone with typical attached base, found prior to the British occupation. There are no records of its find-spot, and whilst the fourth mile-station on the Cyrene–Apollonia road would appear the most probable site of its discovery, confirmation is lacking. The

cubical base is 52 cm. high and the surviving part of the shaft 35 cm. high and 59 cm. in diameter. It reads, in letters of 3 cm.:—

. . . . . EY . . . . .
. . . . . Λ . MINI . . .
. . . . ΘΥΠΑΤΟΥ . .
$\overline{\Delta}$

From the position of this fragmentary text, with its mileage figure Δ (= 4) close to the junction of shaft and base, it would seem certain that the inscription was originally bi-lingual, the upper, Latin text being completely lost. The incomplete name Λ . Μινι . . . . followed by . . . [ἀν]θυπάτου . . . (= proconsul) may indicate that the milestone belongs to the year 71 (see below, p. 90).

E. *Road Cyrene-Apollonia.*

(6) Milestone of Trajan (bi-lingual) at first mile from Cyrene: for exact find-spot, see fig. 1 and p. 83. Published by Ghislanzoni, *Notiziario Archeologico* I (1915) 175–6, with photograph (= *SEG* IX 251). Cf. P. Romanelli, *La Cirenaica Romana* (Verbania, 1943), 103 and fig. 10. Now in Cyrene Museum.

On re-examination in 1947, this milestone yielded traces of the sixth and seventh lines of its Latin text, not previously published. These traces are of some interest since they refer to the road's construction, and at the same time help to complete the already-published Greek text: it should be added that the letters ΤΗΣ appearing at the end of line 6 in the original publication are not visible on the stone, and must be rejected. The writer is indebted to Mr. Charles Morgan, the present Antiquities Officer at Cyrene, for re-checking and confirming the new reading; and to Dr. Marcus N. Tod for his suggestion as to the completion of the texts. With the first four lines of both texts we are not here concerned, since their readings are already certain. They give the imperial titles (*trib. pot.* IIII, *cos* III) of Trajan in A.D. 100. The final lines of both texts may be read, and can be restored, as follows:—

L. 5 COS III P P [viam fe]CIT PER
6 TIRONES [lectos ex pro (poss. *dilectos*)
7 VINCI[a . . . . . .

G. 5 . . . . . [τὴν]
6 ΟΔΟΝ ΕΠΟ[ίησεν διὰ τῶν
7 ΚΑΤΑΛΕΧ ΘΕΝ[των ἐκ τῆς Κυρη-
8 ΝΑΙΚΗ Σ [ἐπαρχίας τιρώνων

Each line should have contained approximately 20 letters and *dilectos* would fit the lacuna better than *lectos*; but the latter word is better attested epigraphically (cf. *ILS* 9195 'tironum ex Numidia lectorum').

In l. 7, *provincia* may have been followed by the official title of the province, *Creta et Cyrenis*, but since the name of Crete does not appear in the Greek text, it would appear more probable that it was omitted also in the Latin, 'province' being used in a local sense. Indeed the Latin text, like the Greek, may have used the phrase *provincia Cyrenaica* which occurs in Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* V, 4) although it has not yet been attested epigraphically. At all events, the Greek text is clearly a literal translation of the Latin, and Dr. Tod's restoration includes the word τιρώνων, an exact transliteration of the Latin *tirones*. The use of recruits in programmes of road construction or repair is also attested in a third-century inscription from Aquileia (*ILS* 487), although in that case the recruits appear to have belonged to a youth militia rather than to a regular army unit.

(7) Milestone of Trajan (Latin text only surviving) probably from the second mile-station on the Cyrene–Apollonia road. Found in 1911 by the American Norton expedition 'just below the road to Marsa Sousa and close to the painted tomb'. Published in *AJA*, 2nd Series, XVII (1913) 174 (inscription no. 39) with photograph. The surviving portion of the Latin text contains only the imperial titles of Trajan in A.D. 100, being identical with no. 6. Now in Cyrene Museum.

(8) Two milestones: (*a*) of Claudius, and (*b*) of Hadrian, found together in 1916 between 10 and 11 km. from Apollonia, and marking the fifth mile from Cyrene. Published by Ghislanzoni, *Notiz. Arch.* II (1916) 156–161: the Hadrianic text, identical with no. 4, is further commented on by Oliverio, *Africa Italiana*, I (1927) 318–320. The surviving portion of the much weathered Claudian column bears a bi-lingual inscription which is not, apparently, identical with no. 3, and probably belongs to another period in the reign of Claudius. The published Hadrianic text needs correction only in its much-damaged last

line which, by the analogy of no. 4, must have read *res/[tituit pe]r [mil. coh. . . . .]*. As no. 4 also bears the figure II for the tribunicia potestas, Oliverio's dating of the inscription to 118 appears justified. On the other hand the proposed reading ΚΔ . ΣΤΑΔΑΠΟΛΩΝ for the indistinct letters on the flat top of the column is not confirmed on inspection (below, p. 90). Both inscriptions are now in the Museum at Cyrene, the bases of the two columns remaining *in situ* on the road-side. This latter fact has enabled the mile-station to be identified as the fifth from Cyrene, and not the third.

(9) An uninscribed milestone (presumably an illegible or truncated one) is said to have stood at the summit of the lower escarpment, near the former Ridotta Segnale, 5 km. south-west of Apollonia. Search for this column in 1947 proved fruitless, and it may have been destroyed in the course of the improvement of the modern road since 1929. T.C.I. *Guida d'Italia: Possedimenti e Colonie* (1929 ed.), 464.

F. *Road Apollonia–Darnis.*

(10) Two Roman milestones, both of the Tetrarchy, were found near Apollonia during the early years of the Italian occupation. The exact find-spot is unrecorded, and it is not certain that both were found together. But as they are of differing dates, and as one bears the mileage figure XV, whereas Apollonia stood at the 13th mile from Cyrene, it is reasonable to suppose that both belong to a mile-station a short distance east of Apollonia on the road to Darnis (Derna). The inscriptions are referred to, but not published, by Oliverio, *Documenti Antichi dell'Africa Italiana* II (1936) fasc. 2, 246. Both are now in the Museum at Apollonia.

(*a*) Half-column, with flattened reverse face, of brown limestone. Ht. 1·45 m.; diam. 50 cm. Letters 3–4 cm.

DD N[n
DIOCLET[iano
E[t] MAXIMIA[no (A.D. 293–305)
IMPERATORI[bus
ET CONSTANTIO
ET MAXIMIANO
CAESARI[bus
XV

(*b*) Upper part of a column of brown limestone. Ht. 49 cm. Letters 5–6 cm.

DD NN
CONS[ta]NTIO
ET MAX[im]IANO (A.D. 305–6)
IMPP [e]T SEVERO
ET MAXIMINO
NOBI[l]ISSIMIS
[caesaribus]
(mileage figure lost)

From the above list, it will be seen that Roman milestones have been found on ten sites in Cyrenaica, that in two cases two inscribed milestones have been found on the same site, and that in another two cases the sites have produced no legible inscriptions. There are thus only ten milestone inscriptions, two of which are bi-lingual, at present known in the whole of Cyrenaica. This small quota of texts, mostly from the Cyrene–Apollonia area, is hardly sufficient to throw much light on the general pattern of the road system in the province, or to reveal its historical development; yet it does illustrate, to some extent, the history of road construction in the area of Cyrene during the first two centuries A.D.

A complicated network of ancient Greek roads and tracks centres at Cyrene,[8] but only three roads appear to have been officially incorporated into the system of Roman

[8] These tracks are accurately shown on the map of the Cyrene area by F. W. and H. W. Beechey *Expedition to Africa* (1828), opp. p. 405.

highways. Of these three, two, the roads Balagrae–Cyrene and Cyrene–Apollonia, have both yielded milestones of Claudius (nos. 3 and 8*a* above). The word *restituit* surviving on no. 3 might seem to imply that the road had been constructed by an earlier emperor than Claudius; but it must be noted that the Roman roads closely followed the line of their Greek predecessors, and although Claudius restored a pre-existing route, he may have been the first emperor to have undertaken an overhaul of the road-system in the province. The slight differences in the texts of these two milestones, and the fact that one is bi-lingual and the other not, also suggests that the two roads were marked with Roman milestones at different periods in the reign of Claudius. The third Roman highway, from Cyrene to Darnis (Derna), running eastward from Cyrene along the plateau, has not yet produced milestones, and is recorded only in the Antonine Itinerary.[9]

The two Trajanic milestones, nos. 6 and 7, both found on the Cyrene–Apollonia route, and along the steep and difficult descent from the summit of the upper escarpment, show that the work of Claudius had not, in this sector, been sufficient. Indeed it may well be that the Claudian road descended from the plateau by a route more to the east, meeting the later line of the Trajanic road shortly before the fifth milestone. One of the most interesting features of the Trajanic work, as revealed by the more complete reading of no. 6, is that it was carried out by recruits. From a comparison of the Latin and Greek texts, incomplete as they are, there seems little doubt that the *tirones* were local recruits;[10] and from his study of the tombstone of a certain C. Iulius Karus at Cyrene, Mr. Eric Birley has been able to show that this officer came to Cyrene with detachments to levy recruits for the army (*dilectus caussa*), after having himself served with distinction in a British war. The British war in question is dated by Mr. Birley to within the limits 89–118, and it may well be that the recruits who constructed the new road in 100 had been enlisted by Karus.[11]

Not long after the Cyrene–Apollonia road had received its Trajanic improvements, the outbreak of the Jewish revolt (A.D. 115) brought disaster both to the city of Cyrene and to its roads. The inscriptions of Hadrian (nos. 4 and 8*b* above) specifically state that the road had been *tumultu iudaico eversa et corrupta*, and this description is more easily intelligible when we consider how easy it would have been to block the steep ascents of the lower and upper escarpments by hurling down rocks and, in the area of the Cyrene necropolis, sarcophagus lids, from above the road. Indeed this Jewish damage to the road may have been tactical rather than symbolic, for the rebels in possession of the city would have felt the need to cut communications with the port of Apollonia, from which direction the Roman counter-attack might reasonably have been expected to come. At all events the Hadrianic restoration of Cyrene also brought with it the repair of the road-damage, and the Hadrianic column no. 4 was erected on its pedestal close to the

[9] *Itineraria Romana* (ed. Cuntz) I (1929) 10. This road passed by the road-station Limniade, which has been identified with the modern Lamluda. A possible fourth road leaving Cyrene is that also described in the Itinerary as joining Cyrene and Ptolemais via Semeros and Lasamices (see footnote 16).

[10] Although it would be possible to read *tirones missos in provinciam* in the Latin text of the Trajanic milestone, the proposed reading *lectos ex provincia* is more easily reconciled with the surviving fragments of the Greek text.

[11] E. Birley, *Durham University Journal*, June 1948, 79–80, where it is argued that the British war in question is most likely to have occurred between 100 and 120. The earlier margin of 89 allows one to conjecture that Karus may have been posted to Cyrene in 100 immediately after the conclusion of campaigns which took place in Britain during the 90s.

repaired Baths, not to mark an official mile (for it stands midway between 'zero-point' and the first milestone), but to indicate the starting point of the section of the road repaired by the unidentified cohort to which the work was entrusted. Mr. Charles Morgan has recently established that the pedestal on which this Hadrianic column presumably stood rests upon a foundation of re-used column drums, and that an identical foundation exists on the opposite side of the street. Thus the Hadrianic monument recording the repair of the road consisted apparently of two pedestals, one on each side of the street. The milestone of the second pedestal is, like the pedestal itself, completely lost: it might have been inscribed with a Greek text corresponding to the Latin of the surviving milestone.

For the later history of the roads around Cyrene, the evidence of milestones is lacking, except for the indications of repairs in the Apollonia area under the Tetrarchy provided by the two milestones (nos. 10*a* and 10*b*) at Apollonia. It is indeed surprising that we have none of the milestones of third century emperors found so abundantly in Tripolitania; [12] and this fact reflects the entirely different histories of the eastern and western parts of Libya under Roman rule. It would seem, however, that as late as 295 Cyrene, rather than Apollonia or Ptolemais, was still regarded as the *caput viae* of the coast road, since the mileage figure on one of the Apollonia columns refers to Cyrene. Not until the fourth century was the seat of government transferred to Ptolemais, leaving Cyrene to decay.[13]

The individual texts of the milestone inscriptions are not without a prosopographical interest. On the newly-discovered Claudian column (no. 3) we have the name of a proconsul, Caesernius Veiento, not elsewhere recorded; whilst the fragmentary base in Cyrene Museum (5) records another proconsul, Λ. Μινί[κιος]. It can hardly be doubted that this latter individual is the same as the A. Minicius Rufus recorded on an inscription found at Cyrene by Smith and Porcher, the initial of the praenomen having been cut, by error or accident, as A instead of Λ. This possibility was envisaged by Dessau in the old *Prosopographia* and would seem confirmed beyond any doubt by the milestone text, now first published.[14] On the other hand, Dessau's suggestion that this Cyrenaican proconsul is to be identified with the L. Minicius Rufus who was consul ordinarius in 88, remains to be proved. The inscription found by Smith and Porcher must belong to the years 40, 43 or 71; and if Dessau's suggestion is correct, the historical L. Minicius Rufus would have been proconsul of Crete and Cyrenaica in 71, and the milestone would therefore belong to the latter date.

Re-examination of the Cyrenaican milestones does not, however, confirm Oliverio's hypothesis that the indistinct characters inscribed on the flat top of the Hadrianic column on the Cyrene–Apollonia road (no. 8*b*) represent a mileage figure calculated in Greek stadii. These letters were read by Oliverio as Κδ′ στάδ(ια) Απολων(ιαν) and interpreted as meaning '24 stadia towards Apollonia (from Cyrene)'. Not only are the letters too indistinct to be thus read (Ghislanzoni's original drawing represents the maximum that is legible), but the actual site of the milestone is, by measurement on accurate maps, at the fifth mile from the established 'zero-point' in Cyrene city, and not

[12] Goodchild, *op. cit.* 30.
[13] P. Romanelli, *La Cirenaica Romana* (1943) 138.
[14] Dessau PIR[1], II, M. 442–3; Pauly-Wissowa, *RE*, 'Minicius', no. 22–23; R.M. Smith and E. A. Porcher, *Recent Discoveries at Cyrene* (1864), 114 (inscr. no. 15).

at the third mile, as it would have to be to agree with a distance of 24 stadia (4·4 km.). There are two additional objections to Oliverio's hypothesis: first, it would be strange to mark a milestone with the distance *from* Cyrene followed by the name of Apollonia (the invariable Roman practice is to show the distance *to* the place named); second, and more significant, the inscription itself, being on the flat top of the column, could not have been seen when the latter, at least 1·75 metres high, was standing.[15] For these reasons we cannot accept the Hadrianic column as evidence that Roman milestones were occasionally marked in stadia, and we can only assume that the crude inscription had some other purpose: it may have served as a quarry mark.

Despite these points of interest, the Cyrenaican milestones at present known to us leave many questions unanswered. The evidence of the Itineraries would suggest that the three roads converging at Cyrene (above, p. 88) were the only recognised highways in the Pentapolis; but the military organisation of the interior must, at least at a later date, have demanded a more complex road-system. There are, in fact, traces of an ancient road, cut in the rock, running between El-Faidia and Slonta (Fig. 1); and there is a paved road existing near Bir Gandula.[16] These facts would suggest that there was in ancient Cyrenaica, as there is to-day, a 'south road' linking the coast at Derna with the Barce plain; but it has not yet yielded milestones. Similarly, the organisation of the Roman *limes* in Cyrenaica must have demanded routes running southwards from the coast towards the interior, similar to the Tripoli–Mizda road of Tripolitania.[17]

Whether these roads existed, what courses they followed, and when they were constructed, must remain unknown until the ancient road-system of the Pentapolis has been fully investigated. Such investigation demands extensive ground surveys and would be assisted by study of the very numerous air photographs taken for operational purpose by the allied air forces during the Libyan campaign. Research on these lines should be carried out as soon as possible, if our knowledge of the topography of the Pentapolis during the Roman period is to advance from its present unsatisfactory state.

R. G. GOODCHILD

[15] Oliverio, *Africa Italiana* I (1927) 318–320. The two bases to which the inscriptions of Claudius and Hadrian (nos. 8*a* and 8*b*) belonged are still *in situ*, and show that the milestone columns originally stood at least 1·75 m., and probably over 2 m., high.

[16] If we accept K. Miller's interpretation (*Itineraria Romana*, (1916), 975, fig. 277) of the route between Ptolemais and Cyrene given in the Antonine Itinerary, the Slonta–El-Faidia stretch of ancient road may belong to this route. This 'south road' could never have been the main line of communication between the two cities, but the Antonine Itinerary text is clearly corrupt, and the road Ptolemais–Semeros–Lesamices–Cyrene may be intended only as an alternative route passing through the *limes* area of Cyrenaica. The omission of the main road Ptolemais–Caenopolis–Balagrae–Cyrene in the Itinerary, and the duplication of the entry regarding the south road, may both result from a textual error. (cf. *Itineraria Romana* (ed. O. Cuntz) I (1929) 9–10).

[17] Goodchild, *op. cit.*, 14–23. The fact that there were in Tripolitania two interior roads, both marked by milestones but neither indicated in the itineraries, shows that in Cyrenaica, as elsewhere in the Roman Empire, we cannot draw negative conclusions from the absence of roads in the documentary sources. Exploration in the field is required.

A SEASIDE VILLA IN TRIPOLITANIA

EAST of Sabratha the coast of the Mediterranean Sea is formed by a line of soft sandstone cliffs. These, which are scarcely more than twenty feet high, are divided by low headlands into shallow bays. Below the cliffs, the foreshore is sometimes of harder rocks, flat or weathered into sharp spines and pinnacles; sometimes of fine sand, equally ideal for bathing or for beaching boats. Inland run low sand-dunes, barren now except for the desert shrubs on which Arab boys graze their goats. But this coast was fertile once, for here and there one may find scatters of pottery, Hellenistic, Arretine, and Roman coarse wares; or lines of square-cut well-laid masonry, which mark the sites of Roman baths, mausolea and villas. One such group of buildings forms the subject of this paper.

The site (Fig. 1) was discovered by Mr. J. B. Ward Perkins, the Director of the Sabratha Expedition (1948), who noticed foundations cut into the rocks of the foreshore, and short stretches of wall protruding from the sand dunes above the cliffs: clear evidence that a villa had once stood there. It was not possible to spare either Arab labour or supervising staff for a full-scale excavation of the site, but it seemed worth-while to make some record of the buildings. Mr. N. de l'E. Thomas and I decided, therefore, to devote what spare time we had to investigating the villa and, when its importance had been recognized, we were aided by four Arab workers. We had two objects: to uncover and record any floor-mosaics, the presence of which was suggested by scatters of tesserae, and to survey the visible remnants of the villa. The results, limited by circumstances as they were, have seemed worthy of record.[1]

The villa (Fig. 2) stands partly on a low headland, partly on a promontory of rocks running out to the north-west. These rocks lie flat between the foot of the cliffs and a clear-cut edge which is washed at high tide. At this point the rocks drop sharply into several feet of water, littered with rough boulders. The cliffs themselves are never more than twenty feet high, and towards the centre of the villa area they fall to a mere three foot rise. It was not possible to survey these cliffs in detail, but their general trend and relative height have been suggested on the plan. The villa stands, then, in a position to command long views east and west down the coast; yet it is close enough to civilization for the theatre of Sabratha to dominate the western horizon. The reasons which governed the choice of site were probably aesthetic and climatic rather than utilitarian. The nearest sandy beach suitable for the embarcation of farm produce [2] is a quarter of a mile distant; on the other hand, that the Romans had a natural taste for such a site is revealed by Pliny's description of his Laurentine villa;[3] an additional attraction is the afternoon sea-breeze, which prevails throughout the summer on the sea-ward side of the coastal ridge and is one of the most delightful features of the Tripolitanian climate.

[1] I have to thank Mr. J. B. Ward Perkins, Mrs. Olwen Brogan, Miss J. M. C. Toynbee, Mr. A. R. Wells and Mr. N. de l'E. Thomas for help and encouragement, both on the site and in writing this paper. The plans have been re-drawn by Mrs. Wain-Hobson. My greatest debt is to Brasenose College, Oxford, for making it possible for me to go to Sabratha.

[2] Cato, *De re rustica*, I, 1; Columella, *De re rustica*, I, 2.

[3] Pliny, *Ep.* II, 17.

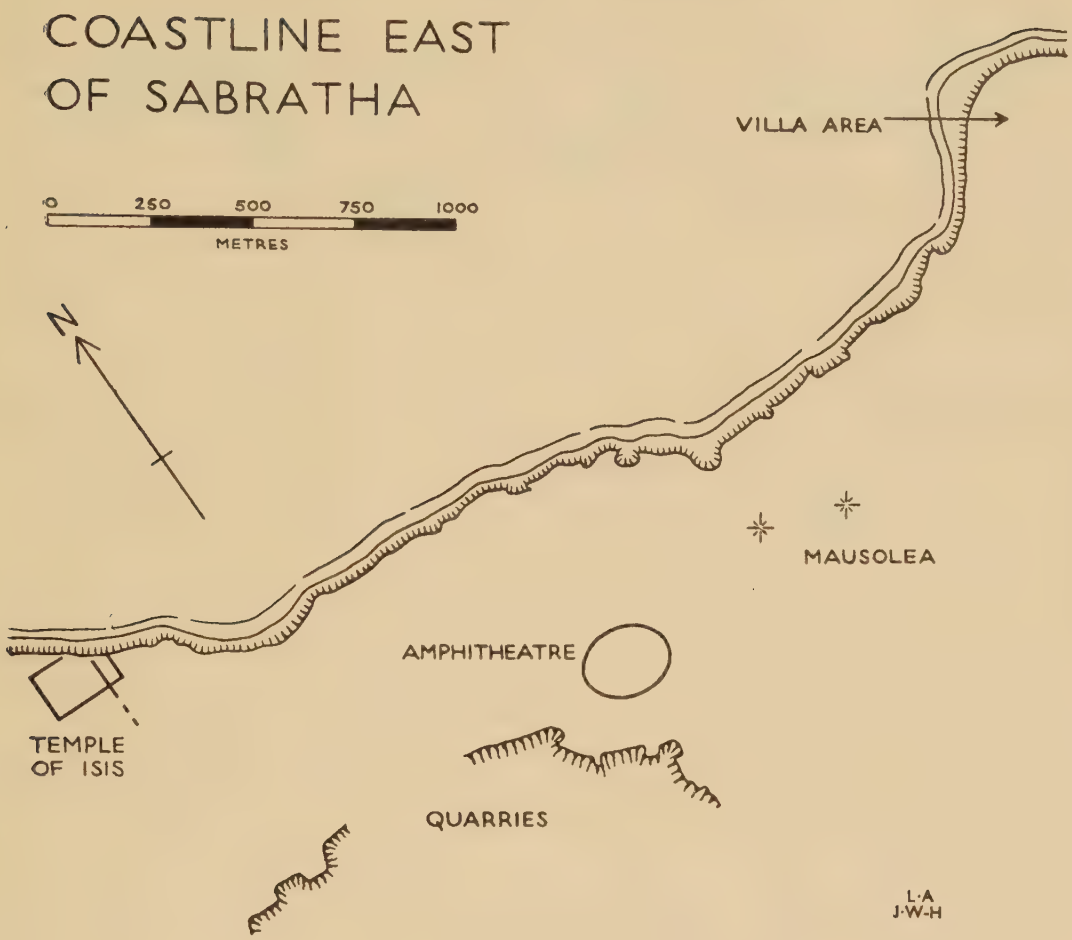

FIG. 1.

Whatever the possibility of approaching it from the sea, the villa must have been easily accessible by land, for the road from Sabratha to Oea (the Roman Tripoli) follows the coastal ridge. Its exact line is unknown, but not more than a quarter of a mile from the sea the passage of wheeled vehicles throughout a long period of time has worn channels in the flat surface-rocks near the villa. It is unlikely that carts have passed this way since the dessication of the coastal belt or even since the Arab conquest. There is, then, every reason to think that these grooves were made by vehicles passing along the main road, or down branch roads to the coastal villas, in Roman times.

The Buildings

The buildings are revealed by rock-cut foundations, by low walls still visible in the sand, and by low mounds of fallen masonry. They lie in two main groups, east and west of a shallow depression leading down to a break in the cliffs. Without extensive

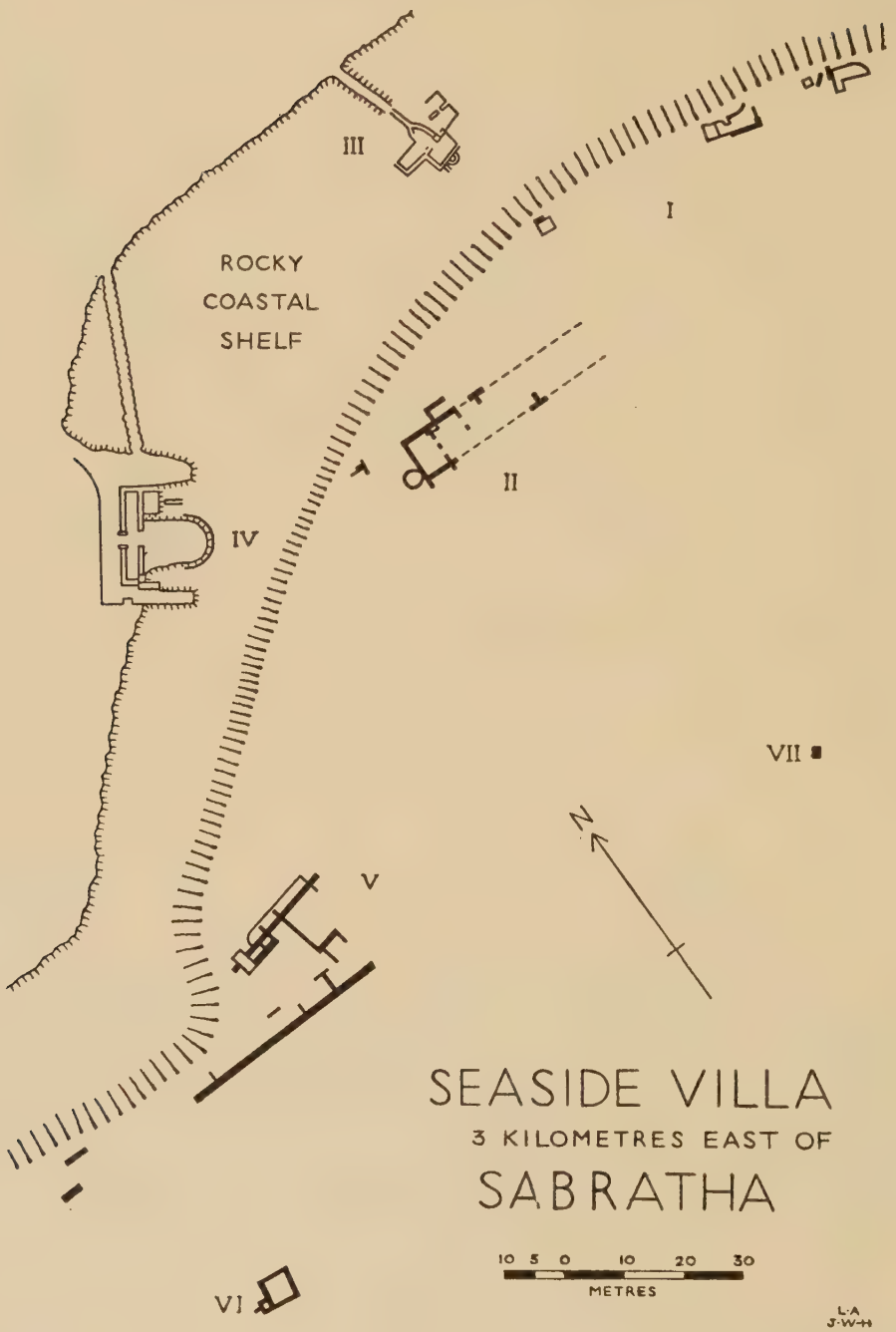
III
I
ROCKY
COASTAL
SHELF
II
IV
VII
N
V
SEASIDE VILLA
3 KILOMETRES EAST OF
SABRATHA
10 5 0 10 20 30
METRES
VI
L·A
J·W·H

FIG. 2.

excavation it is impossible to say whether or not these two groups are contemporary, but it is suggestive that the little surface pottery which was found is similar in each area, and contrasts strongly with that from the sand dunes south of the villa. Within the main groups, seven distinct buildings or groups of buildings can be made out. Again there is no clear evidence that any of these are contemporary: and the fact that Group I shows two building periods may warn us against that assumption. Since, finally, it

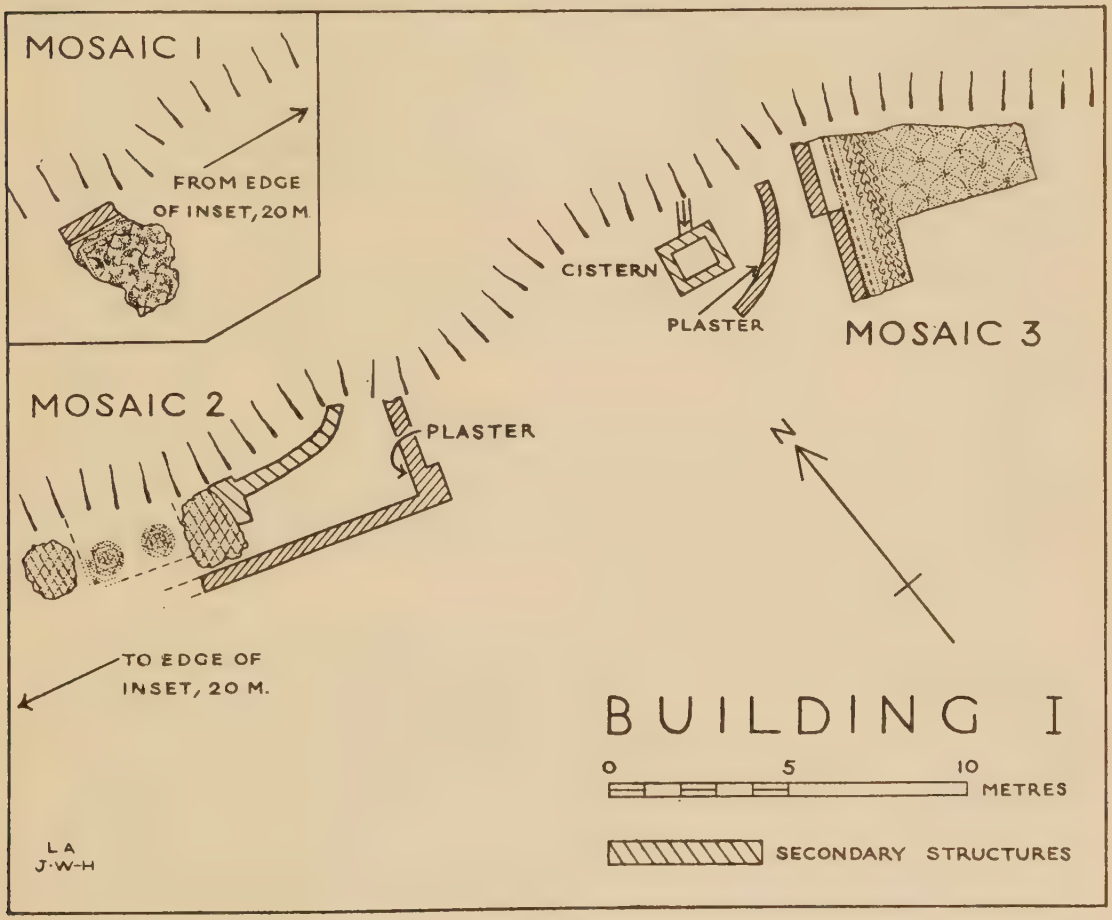

FIG. 3.

is not possible to assign a short bracket of dates to the villa (see below, p. 99) it is clearly impossible to determine what the villa was like at any one period of its history.

Group I (Fig. 3) consists of a long building, or number of buildings, with mosaic floors and walls decorated with painted plaster. The outer wall on the landward side is still visible at the eastern end, and its line is continued westward by a litter of fallen masonry, but the seaward wall and much of the mosaic floors themselves have been

destroyed by the erosion of the cliffs on which the building stands. A trench cut in Mosaic 3 at a point where it had become too dilapidated for preservation showed that the mosaic was bedded on about five inches of clay above natural rock, and it was, therefore, the original floor of the building. Later additions are revealed by a cistern, with an inlet presumably from a collecting tank on the roof of the building; and by a curved wall laid on top of Mosaic 2 and ignoring its pattern. Fragments of sandstone columns, bases and capitals found under the cliffs, and a sandstone capital of unusual design which lay on the sand above the cliffs, suggest that the building had some form of colonnade.

Group II can be traced, in part by the footings or lower courses of walls, and in part, especially to the east, by a slight ridge in the sand and a concentration of blocks of sandstone. It constituted a building at least 125 feet long and about 25 feet wide, built in the local sandstone. No traces of wall-plaster were found, and the absence of surface tesserae suggests that the building had no mosaics: but it was not possible to confirm this by trial trenches.

It seemed at first that the circular wall on the west might be that of a cistern or tank, which had become filled with fallen masonry. Partial excavation revealed, however, that the blocks of stone had been tightly packed within a retaining wall, so as to form a weight-carrying podium or base. The exact purpose of the structure remains obscure.

To the north-west is a T-shaped section of wall which formed the corners of two concrete-lined tanks. These may have been cisterns, but a low bench in the southern room suggests the possibility that it was the bath-building of the main villa. Two constructional periods could be distinguished; for between the two walls there is a straight joint, in which is preserved all that remains of the plaster surface which once faced the whole of the earlier of the two.

Group III comprises four irregular tanks cut into the rock of the shore. These are grouped asymmetrically about a gutter or drain, partly rock-carved and partly built up of imported masonry, which runs into a wide channel cut out to the sea. At high tide water flows up this channel and up the gutter into the tanks, from which it has no outlet. It is clear, then, that the purpose of the gutter is to maintain a constant water-level. The tanks are now completely silted up with sand, but probing in the south-east corner revealed that they are here more than three feet deep. This rules out the possibility that they were salt pans. It is suggested that the building was a small salt-water plunge bath. A more remote possibility is that the tanks formed ornamental fish ponds. In either case, the semicircular wall on the south may be the footing of a small apse or niche to hold a statue.

Group IV is revealed by rock-cut foundations on the very edge of the foreshore; indeed, as will be seen from Plate XXX, 1, the footings of its north-westerly walls are washed even at low tide. That half the area of the building should always be under water is a problem in interpreting this building. The function of the gutter in Building III makes it clear that no major change in sea-level can have occurred since these foundations were cut in the rocks. On the other hand, the portico-house adjacent to the 'Oceanus' Baths in Sabratha shows that it is not impossible for buildings to have their foundations lapped by the tide. Horace has a vivid phrase about those who built villas at the very water's

edge and 'hasten to push still farther back the edge of the sea that breaks on Baiae's shore'.[4] It may be that, when Group IV was constructed, only its outer wall was exposed to the waves: but later, after the desertion and collapse of the building, heavy seas driven by the northerly winds on to this exposed promontory cut the rocks back to their present line.

So far as can be made out under the silted sand and weed, the rock-cut foundations show that the building had, on the north-west, three wide parallel walls; the two on the landward side had gaps as though for an entrance. To the south-east (cut into rocks which stand above the high-water mark) are rooms, the chief of which is a large apse. It is unlikely that the foundations were those of a small harbour, for there is no room to manoeuvre even a small boat within the north-westerly walls. The apsidal room is reminiscent of the '*cubiculum in hapsida curvatum*, which catches the sun on all its windows as he moves round the heavens', of Pliny's villa at Laurentum. Certainly the apse faces in the right direction for a sun-trap room, and it is perhaps significant that to the south the cliffs are at their lowest, so that Building IV is never over-shadowed by them. The building probably formed winter living-quarters for the villa. The artificial channel to the north-east may have to do with the sanitation of the villa.

There remains a further problem in the interpretation of this building. The apse is marked out by the footings of walls cut in the rock. On the east of the semicircle the rock within the apse (Pl. XXX, 2) is at a lower level than outside it: but on the west, the foundation line is itself a shallow channel cut in rocks which are equally high on either side. The irregularity may show that the building was never completed; but it may equally be argued that it was not intended that the rock within the apse should be level and that the dip to the east was caused by a pre-existing natural scoop. In that case, the floor must have been carried on joists set in the masonry walls of the apse.

Group V. The buildings, which are on two distinct lines, are revealed by discontinuous walls. The more easterly had rooms with plaster floors to the north, but the greater part of these have now been eroded. The line to the west had more massive foundations. The greater part of the building must have disappeared over the cliffs, which approach here to within ten feet of the remaining wall.

Group VI consists of two concrete tanks standing on a small knoll. On the west is a jumble of massive blocks, of which one only is in position and appears on the plan. These may have been intended to take a weighty superstructure such as a well-head, but their purpose remains uncertain. The tanks are two feet deep, and as the concrete is continued over the top of the standing walls, this may be taken as the original depth. Rubble lying in the sand on the slopes of the knoll may be the remains of a robbed outer wall, in which case the building may have been a small bath house: but on the present evidence it is equally likely that it was a group of cisterns connected with the western group of buildings lower down the slope.

Group VII lies inland, on the slope of a ridge overlooking the villa. It has been robbed to its foundations, which form a podium about six feet square. The appearance of this and its situation suggest that it formed the mausoleum of the villa. The type, tall, square, and surmounted by an elongated pyramid, is common in the province.

[4] Horace, *Carm.*, II, 18, 20–21.

The Mosaics [5]

The mosaics are numbered in order of discovery, from west to east. They all lie in Group I, and have suffered greatly from the erosion of the cliffs. After photography and record, they were re-buried to prevent deterioration.

Mosaic 1 (Pl. XXXI, 1), of coarse, black and white, limestone tesserae, was in a fair state of preservation. The pattern is a very common pelta motif, with black maltese crosses interspersed among the peltae at the edge of the pattern. The border is of crow-step triangles.

Mosaic 2 (Pl. XXXI, 2) had two polychrome medallions set between black and white border panels. In the latter, which were in a fair state of preservation, coarse limestone tesserae were crudely laid to form a pattern of white hexagons containing black foliate crosses. Black triangles abut on all sides of the hexagons, to give an overall diamond effect. The medallions, by contrast, had originally been of fine workmanship in coloured marble and glass: they are now in a ruinous state. Within a guilloche border of pink, turquoise and blue glass is set a device of interlaced squares contained in a circle. At the very centre is a circle filled with irregular shapes in buff and yellow, which seem to be intended as an imitation of mottled marble.

Parallels for the general lay-out of coarse panels bordering a fine panel may be found at Sabratha, in a house by the Theatre Baths (Regio V, insula 2), where they can hardly be earlier than the second half of the second century; and again in the House of Liber Pater, where on stylistic grounds they seem to belong to the late third, or early fourth, century. The 'imitation marble' pattern is found in the Oceanus Baths as the background of the 'Diana' emblema which, to judge from its position, may be late second- or early third-century. It occurs again, in association with a late third- or early fourth-century border, in the Office Baths. It appears at present to be peculiar to the mosaics of Tripolitania.

Mosaic 3 (Pl. XXXII, 1) had been preserved by a coat of lime which over-lay it. This was chipped off to reveal a gay and elegant polychrome mosaic for which no exact parallel has been discovered. The basic pattern, of interlaced circles, is common enough,[6] but these circles are here set with floral arabesques with shaded leaves. The circles themselves are of dull red, pseudo-porphyry tesserae. From a centre of bright yellow, edged with black, spread broad straight leaves, shaded from black through khaki to bright yellow, and finer leaves, straight or curly, coloured in black and blue-green. Within the intersections of the circles occurs another floral motif. On the major axis of this are large leaves which have a black and dull red centre with curly yellow edges; the other leaves, in black and blue-green, are smaller. The border of Mosaic 3 is also of interest. Plate XXXII, 2 shows, on the extreme right, a bead-and-reel motif in black on a reddish-buff ground. Then, between two rows of black and white waves, there is an intricately coloured chain design. Six variations may be distinguished: When the central triangle is red or pink, the strands which border it are black and blue-grey; dark grey or blue-grey fill, khaki and yellow strands; khaki or yellow fill, red and pink strands.

[5] I must record my gratitude to Miss J. M. C. Toynbee, for her many suggestions about the mosaics, on which these notes are based. For the general lay-out of the mosaics, see fig. 3.

[6] See the numerous examples, of many dates, in D. Levi, *Antioch Mosaic Pavements*, Princeton, 1947.

Certain parallels may be suggested, but it must be admitted that none of them are close:—

1. Black and white floral motif from Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli (*Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, XIII, 1936, pl. 14, 3).

2. Black and white interlaced circles with floral motif from Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli (*ibid.* pl. 12, 3). These second-century mosaics are considered to be early examples of the arabesque pattern.

3. Polychrome floral pattern with shaded leaves at Ostia (*ibid.*, pl. 10, 2). Probably second century.

4. Polychrome shaded leaves from a house at Castel Porziano, near Laurentum (*ibid.*, pl. 29, 3). Probably second century.

5. Comparable floral motifs, and a similar chain-pattern border from Carthage (*Inventaire des Mosaïques de la Gaule et de l'Afrique* (Paris, 1913) II, Tunisie, Fasc. II, 644).

6. The polychrome chain-pattern border appears also in the Office Baths, Sabratha.

Date of the Villa

A trench was cut in Mosaic 3, at a point at which it had become too dilapidated for preservation, in order to find sealed material to date the mosaic and the villa itself: but no such dating evidence was found. It was not possible in the time available to put down trenches elsewhere on the site to discover the period of construction of the buildings. In the absence of any finds of stratigraphical significance, we have three clues to the date of the villa.

A general consideration of the history of Sabratha suggests that the villa is unlikely to be earlier than the eastward expansion of the city into the Theatre area in the second century. Again, it is not likely that it should have been built after the beginning of the fourth century, when conditions at Sabratha became very unstable, and the city began to decline. We can hardly expect rural life to survive such blows as the Austurian sack of Sabratha *c.* A.D. 365.

The second century cannot, however, be accepted as a *terminus post quem* on these general grounds alone, for the coastal strip had been occupied long before then. On the sand-dunes to the south of the villa, scatters of black-glazed Hellenistic ware, with a high metallic glaze, and also of Arretine ware, were found, together with fragments of coarse pottery. We can only conclude that the coast east of Sabratha was occupied before the first century A.D. On the other hand, no black-glazed ware and no sigillata ware came from the immediate vicinity of the villa. The history of Romano-Tripolitanian pottery has still to be worked out. It can be said provisionally that the surface pottery from the villa, and especially the amphora rims and the dishes of red polished ware with barbotine decoration would fit well in the later levels at Sabratha, that is, in the second and third centuries.

This evidence is supported by that of the mosaics. Even when allowance is made for the unsatisfactory dating of mosaics in general and for the long-continued use of

individual motifs, the dates tentatively proposed for these mosaics form a group close enough to appear significant. Making use of these three sources, the mosaics, the surface pottery, and the general conditions of life in Sabratha, we may suggest that the villa was built and occupied in the second half of the second century and the third century.

LESLIE ALCOCK

QUADRIPORTICUS SANCTI PETRI IN VATICANO

AMONG the countless attempts by nineteenth-century architects to supply a reconstruction of some ancient or medieval building, none was more favourably received nor more widely reproduced than the general view of Old St. Peter's and the adjoining Vatican Palace 'about the year MCCCCL', drawn in 1891 by Henry William Brewer. Brewer is better known for his tentative reconstruction of the city of Paris in the first third of the sixteenth century; but like the rest of his imaginative reconstructions, his drawing of Old St. Peter's also is a notable performance, bearing witness to the preparation of many years; and it has since been accepted in all hand-books on early Christian art as an attractive, and seemingly very instructive, illustration. Nevertheless it will not bear close, critical examination. In the Jubilee year of 1450 neither the Sixtine Chapel nor the Belvedere were yet standing, nor had the angle projection of the Palatium Archipresbyteri yet received its two-storied archway.

Brewer was above all concerned to illustrate the grace of a grandiose, light-strewn quadriporticus. Its northern arcade, with its continuous sloping roof, rests against a long and extremely narrow south wing of the Vatican Palace. This fact alone is a clear indication that his drawing was based on nothing more precise or more reliable than the well-known plan of Tiberius Alpharanus, published in 1589–90,[1] or on plans derived from it. In other words he relied entirely on a plan, which, although it might have been drawn as early as 1571,[2] is, in respect of the Atrium and of the constructions annexed to the west of Old St. Peter's in particular, no more than a highly schematic reconstruction. In detail, as for example in the plan of the Loggia della Benedizione and of the adjoining palace of Paul II, it is wholly false and misleading. The same regrettable conclusion is true of the two wings of the Atrium. Of the northern wing Alpharanus notes only in his commentary that *la parte del portico a man destra Papa Sisto IV la disfece e ivi fece loco per l'Auditori di Rota e per la Dataria, quali Innocentio VIII ha finito*.[3] This statement records not only the state of his knowledge but also his fixed belief in the quadriporticus, which he was absolutely convinced had been built in very remote times and finished by Pope Symmachus (498–514). Cardinal Franz Ehrle, however, in his researches on the origins of the Vatican Palace, reached the conclusion that the Triclinium of Leo III (795–815) extended along the north side of the Atrium;[4] and following up this conclusion, I myself have been able to show that this former Triclinium was for centuries used as the main hall of the Auditorium Rotae and survived until the whole building of the Chancery was demolished in 1609.[5] It follows therefore that we must re-examine the fundamental question, whether the Atrium was ever completed as a four-sided structure, bounded by four arcaded wings. In the pages that follow I shall put forward the

[1] The best reproduction is in M. Cerrati, *Tiberii Alpharani de Basilicae Vaticanae antiquissima et nova structura*, Roma, 1914, pl. I.

[2] *Ibid.*, pl. II.

[3] Archivio capitolare della Basilica di S. Pietro, G. 5, fol. 8 (Cerrati, *op. cit.*, 15, n. 1).

[4] F. Ehrle and H. Egger, *Studi e documenti per la storia del Palazzo Apostolico Vaticano*, II, 1935, 30–36.

[5] H. Egger, 'Das päpstliche Kanzleigebäude im 15. Jhdt.'. *Festschrift zur Feier des Zweihundert jährigen Bestandes des Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchivs*, Wien, 1949.

considerations that tell against Alpharanus's reconstruction and, consequently, against any illustrations or inferences that derive from it.

There cannot be the slightest doubt that the construction of such a quadriporticus formed part of the original plan. It follows above all from the distance between the Vestibulum of the Basilica and the entrance-hall proper. But when we turn to the Liber Pontificalis, we find that the expression 'quadriporticus' is used twice only. The earlier of the two uses is to be found in the Vita of Pope Symmachus (498–514): *Ad cantharum beati Petri cum quadriporticum ex opere marmoribus ornavit et ex musivo agnos et cruces et palmas ornavit. Ipsum vero atrium omnem compaginavit.*

In connection with this embellishment of the atrium, the Liber Pontificalis records also the construction of two Episcopia.[6] Built on either side of the Vestibulum, these two bishop's lodgings could hardly have reached as far as the Atrium. It was quite a different matter when Pope Leo III (795–815) ordered the enlargement of the northern Episcopium by the addition of an imposing Triclinium,[7] the plan of which, as I have shown, corresponded to that of the medieval Auditorium Rotae. This hall, decorated with apses, extended directly along the northern edge of the Atrium.[8] Its construction could consequently have taken place only after the complete demolition of the northern arcaded portico—if indeed the latter had ever been built. Had it in fact been completed, its demolition would surely have been mentioned in the Liber Pontificalis. The account of the more important events of the pontificate of Leo III is very detailed, and so important a fact as the demolition of a complete arcaded wing and the abandonment of the earlier scheme of a quadriporticus would certainly have been recorded.[9]

If we turn to the opposite, south wing, we find that there is no earlier account to attest the survival of its arcades down to the end of the fifteenth century. We are dependent therefore on two statements by Tiberius Alpharanus, who emphasizes that it was precisely here, *in Altaristae Basilicae aedibus*, that he had lived for twenty-six years, seventeen of them *cum praedicto Jacobo Herculano*, and another nine *cum Ioanne Baptista Tegerono dignissimo successore*. Nevertheless the only information that he gives on the south wing is that *l'altro portico di man manca ruinato dal tempo si sò fatte stanze per quelli che ministrano li sacramenti della Chiesa et Schola*.[10] In addition he remarks that *huius quadriporticus dextera pars nunc clauditur Capellae Iuliae aulis et Altaristae Basilicae aedibus*.[11]

Had imposing arcades ever closed the Atrium to the south, they would certainly not have been pulled down to make way for so modest a building as the Cappella Giulia. Since the Liber Pontificalis does not mention the demolition of a south wing, it is once more natural to assume that no such arcaded passage had ever been built. In the documents on the demolition of Old St. Peter's, published by J. A. F. Orbaan,[12] there is no mention of the structure either of the south wing or of the north wing; nor is anything said about the discovery of the remains of early medieval arcades.

As so often happens, an assumption resting solely on the evidence of tradition gathers strength in the course of centuries, until it becomes eventually an accepted fact.

[6] *Liber Pontificalis* (ed. L. Duchesne) I, 262: 'grados ante fores basilicae beati Petri ampliavit at alios grados subtiguo dextra levaque construxit. Item episcopia in eodem loco dextra levaque fecit'.

[7] *Ibid.* II, 8.

[8] Ehrle, *op. cit.*, 30–36.

[9] *Liber Pontificalis* II, 1–34.

[10] Archivio capitolare della Basilica di S. Pietro, G. 5, fol. 8 (Cerrati, *op. cit.*, 15, n. 1).

[11] Cerrati, *op. cit.*, 123.

[12] J. A. F. Orbaan, 'Abbruch Alt-St. Peters', *Jahrb. d. k. preuss. Kunstsammlung*, 1919, Beiheft, 72 ff.

This may well have been the case with the editing of the Vita of Pope Donus (676–678), in which occurs the second and last use of the expression 'quadriporticus': *Hic atrium beati Petri apostoli superiore, qui est ante ecclesiam in quadriporticum, magnis marmoribus stravit.*[13] The term 'quadriporticus' is not found again in the Liber Pontificalis. It does not appear in connection with the construction of the Triclinium of Leo III (795–815); nor is it used in the passage which refers to the Atrium in the Vita of Pope Gregory IV (827–844), although in this case it is a question specifically of a restoration both of the eastern and of the western porticoes, that is to say of the Vestibulum of the Basilica and of its entrance-hall.[14] The restoration undertaken by Leo IV (847–855) can refer to the eastern portico only, and, what is more, to that part of it only which lay to the north of the axis of the Basilica.[15] This fact requires emphasis, in as much as M. Cerrati has taken this passage to refer to the whole of the northern arcaded wing.[16] Reference to the Triclinium, built under Leo III, shows at once that this interpretation is untenable.

The facts may be summarized as follows: in the Liber Pontificalis the term 'quadriporticus' appears in two passages only, after which the term 'porticus' is alone used; the demolition neither of the northern nor of the southern arcaded wings is recorded, whereas the repair by Leo IV of the fallen arcades of the entrance-hall obtains a special mention; and finally J. A. F. Orbaan in his very conscientious essay on the demolition of St. Peter's was unable to find the slightest evidence of the discovery of the remains of lateral colonnaded passages. The reasons for doubting the generally accepted hypothesis of a magnificent quadriporticus are seen to be many. Had it ever been completed, the Triclinium of Leo III would have abutted against the north wall of the north portico and could not have extended across it as far as the north edge of the Atrium. The further question, how far any part of this earlier arcaded wing had already been built, and in particular how high the continuous footing fronting on to the Atrium had been raised, so that it could serve, with its foundations, for the construction of the later Triclinium, this is a question which must as yet remain unanswered.

HERMANN EGGER†

Note: Professor Egger died at Graz on April 24th, 1949, and this paper is here published with the courteous consent of his widow, through the good offices of Professor G. Hoogewerff. Professor Hoogewerff has also kindly confirmed the accuracy of the English translation.

[13] *Liber Pontificalis* I, 348.

[14] *Ibid.* II, 80: 'Nam poene totam porticum super oratorium sanctae Dei genitricis Mariae quod Mediana dicitur noviter ex trabibus ceterisque lignis ob decorem basilicae dedicavit. Immo et aliam similiter porticum ante valvas argenteas novo opere cultuque praecipue perfecit'.

[15] *Ibid.* II, 127: 'Qui summus Deo amabilis Papa, in exordio sui pontificii, cum porticus partis levae beati prae nimia vetustate Petri basilicae cecidisset, celeri studio praeclarus renovavit'.

[16] Cerrati, *op. cit.*, 15, n. 1.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE GREEK CITIES IN SICILY AND SOUTH ITALY

THE following contributions to the bibliography of the Greek cities in Sicily and south Italy are offered as a supplement to J. Bérard's *Bibliographie topographique des principales cités grecques de l'Italie méridionale et de la Sicile dans l'antiquité* (Paris, 1941). They fall into two categories:

(i) Books and articles published before 1939, but omitted from Bérard's lists. These are few in number, but Bérard's bibliographies, though, as he says, they do not set out to be exhaustive, are of such fullness and importance that they deserve to be supplemented by such gleanings as these.

(ii) Works published between 1939 and the end of 1947. This section is no doubt incomplete, as I have not seen many Italian and German, and some other, books and periodicals of the war years. But it may be useful, as so many of the works are, and are likely to remain, difficult of general access; and among them are many important works.

The arrangement is under the headings adopted in Bérard's book, and I have tried to conform to the general principles laid down in his preface. Many of the titles, in both categories, have been communicated to me by Bérard. I am grateful to him for the kindness and generosity with which he has discussed this supplement to his work. It is offered in recognition of the usefulness of his book, as tested by one worker in the same field.

Works marked with an asterisk I have not seen.

The following abbreviations are used:

AA	= *Archäologischer Anzeiger*
AJA	= *American Journal of Archaeology*
AJP	= *American Journal of Philology*
AM	= *Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts: Athenische Abteilung*
Ann. R. Sc. It. At.	= *Annuario della Regia Scuola Archeologica di Atene*
Ant. Class.	= *L'Antiquité Classique*
ASCL	= *Archivio storico per la Calabria e la Lucania*
ASS	= *Archivio storico siciliano*
ASSO	= *Archivio storico per la Sicilia orientale*
Att. R. Acc. It.	= *Atti della Reale Accademia d'Italia*
BCH	= *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*
BIN	= *Bullettino Italiano Numismatico*
Boll. d'Arte	= *Bollettino d'Arte*
BPI	= *Bullettino di Paletnologia Italiana*
BSA	= *Annual of the British School at Athens*
BSR	= *Papers of the British School at Rome*
Bull. Mus. Imp.	= *Bullettino del Museo dell' Impero*
CQ	= *Classical Quarterly*

CR = *Classical Review*
CRAI = *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*

FA = *Fasti Archaeologici*

JdI = *Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts*
JHS = *Journal of Hellenic Studies*
JRS = *Journal of Roman Studies*

MA = *Monumenti antichi pubblicati per cura della Reale Accademia dei Lincei*
Mem. Acc. Linc. = *Memorie della Reale Accademia dei Lincei*
Mem. Am. Ac. Rome = *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*
Mem. Pont. Acc. = *Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia: Memorie*

N Sc = *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità*
Num. Chron. = *Numismatic Chronicle*

Ö Jh = *Jahreshefte des Oesterreichischen archäologischen Instituts*

RA = *Revue Archéologique*
REA = *Revue des Études Anciennes*
REG = *Revue des Études Grecques*
Rend. Acc. Linc. = *Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei*
Rend. Pont. Acc. = *Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia: Rendiconti*
RIASA = *Rivista del Reale Istituto di Archeologia e Storia d'Arte*
RM = *Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts: Römische Abteilung*
R. Num. = *Revue numismatique*

SB Bayer. Akad. = *Sitzungsberichte der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften: Philologisch-historische Abteilung*

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TERINA

See Numismatics, no. 6, part iv.

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1. I. BOVIO MARCONI, "Piramidette e altri oggetti fittili del Museo di Palermo" (*BPI* ii, 1938, 74–82).

TYNDARIS

See General Archaeology, no. 24.

It may be in place to call attention to the most important recent works. These are, among general works: I, no. 11, which covers Iapygia (including Tarentum) of the Greek lands in question; V A, no. 50, the third volume of Pace's large work on Sicilian culture, the main subject of which is religion; in the same list, no. 43, an important discussion of western sculpture; and no. 38, which deals with terracottas of the century 550–450. Other works on art are V A, nos. 30, 39, 40, publishing useful material from south Italy, bronzes in the Capialbi Collection in Vibo Valentia, and archaic terracottas and a kore of the early fifth century in Cosenza, from Sybaris and its neighbourhood; nos. 31 and 32, studies of single types of Lokrian pinax, with interesting architectural conclusions; nos. 37 and 49, in which the Ludovisi and Boston thrones

are discussed, and assigned in the one to the Heraeum of Paestum, in the other to Eryx. No. 41 is an important book, and no. 46 has valuable conclusions. V B, no. 39, a far-reaching study of the early contacts of the Greeks with Italy, I have discussed elsewhere. Three volumes of the *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum* (Siracusa i; Taranto i, ii) publish vases found and preserved within the area of the colonies. The most important study of the vases made in this area is V B, no. 40. There are many works on coins. V C, no. 22 is a luxurious publication; no. 16 partly fills a serious gap. No. 23 is an interesting discussion of statues represented on coins, which should help in the identification of western sculpture. Other important works deal with the coins of individual cities: Naxos, no. 1 (which has valuable observations on the coins of other cities of Sicily); Syracuse, no. 13; Tarentum, no. 13; Heraclea, no. 2; Messina, no. 1; Metapontum, no. 2; as well as those works recorded here, see also recent fascicules of the *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum*.

On individual sites and monuments: Agrigentum, no. 8, publishes a collection of material from this site, in Copenhagen; no. 7 fully publishes the well-known kouros in Agrigento, thus supplementing Langlotz' general work on western sculpture mentioned above; Caulonia, no. 2, is useful on architectural terracottas and other architectural points. Paestum, no. 7, contains a fine series of pictures. Tarentum, no. 6, publishes a fine Tarentine head of the middle of the fifth century, in a German private collection. Lipara, no. 1, a general work on the Aeolian Islands, I have not seen.

The most important finds in the Greek cities have been made at Metapontum (deposit of the Temple of Apollo Lykeios, with material reaching back to the early seventh century) and Tarentum (graves of most periods from late eighth to fourth century). At Syracuse, the visible remains of the Apollonion, or, as Cultrera and others prefer, Artemision, have been strengthened (see Syracuse, no. 15). Excavations have continued at the Heraeum of Paestum. Since the war, lively activity has been resumed on these and other sites, but this falls mainly outside the limits of time set for this work.

T. J. Dunbabin

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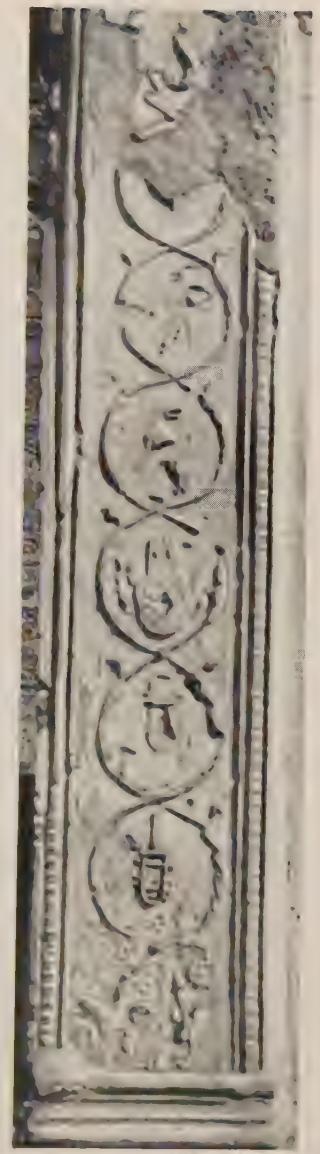

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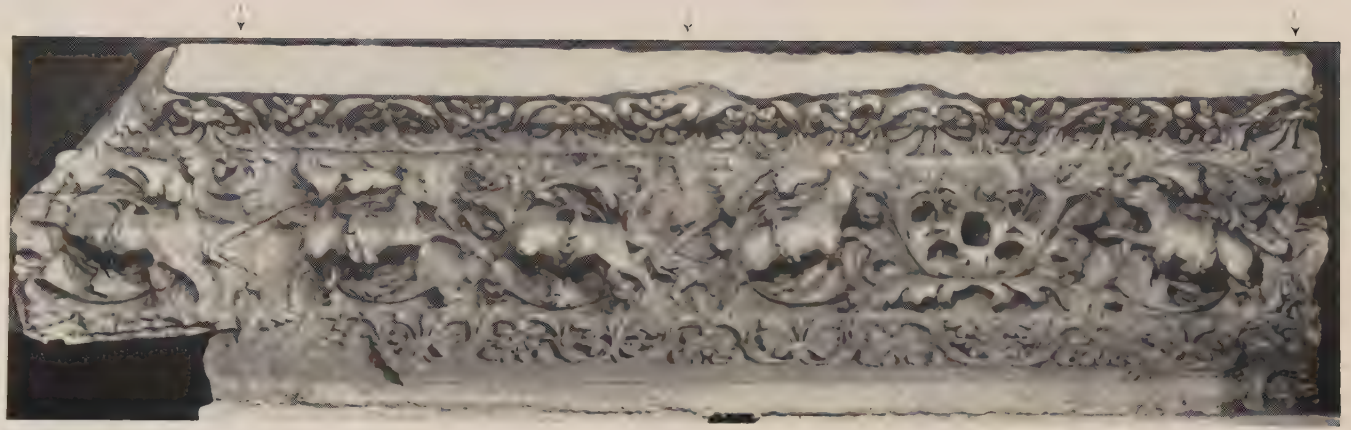

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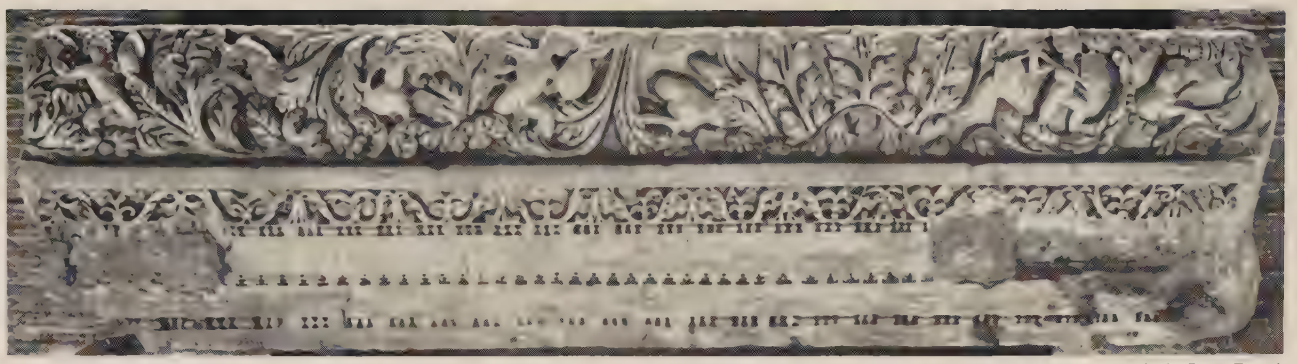

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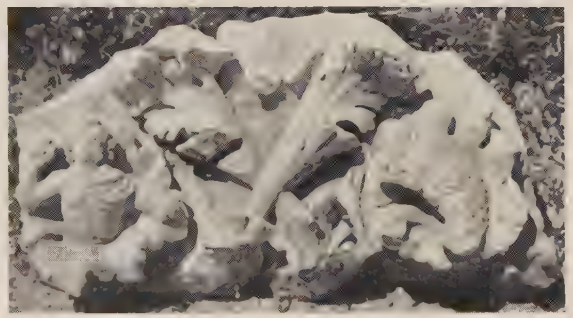

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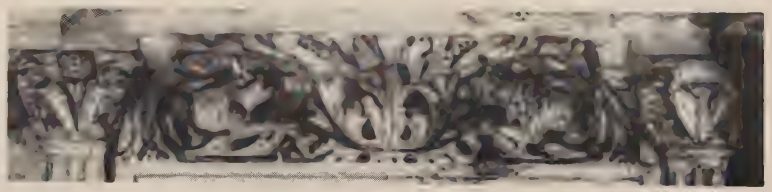

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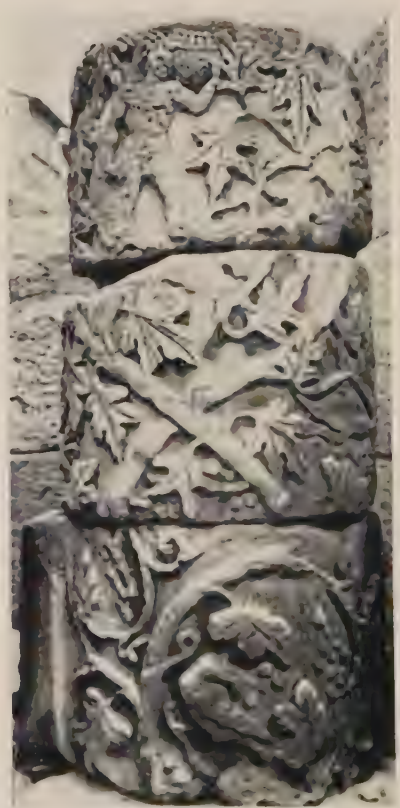

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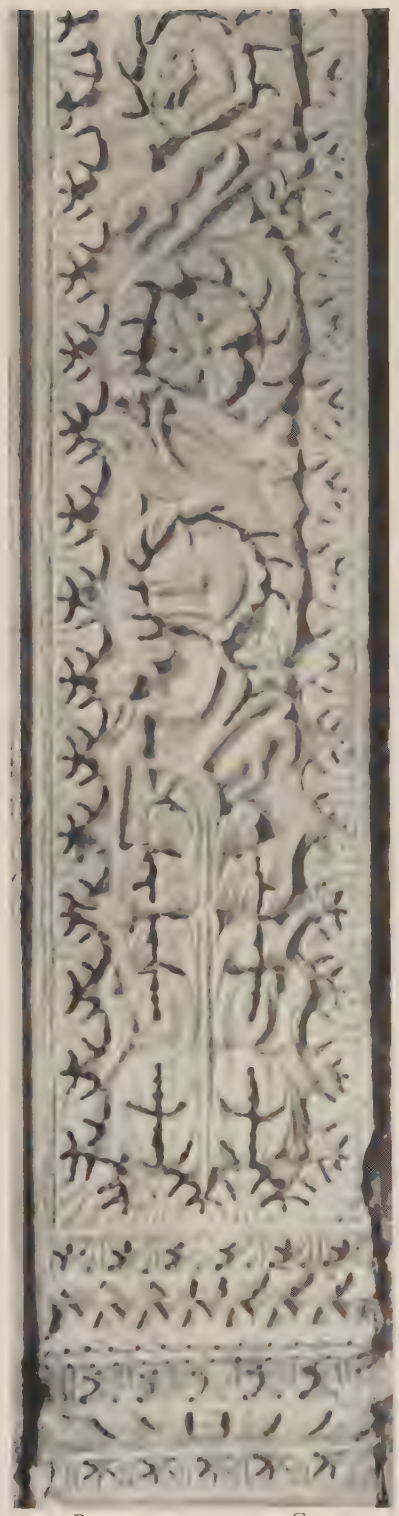

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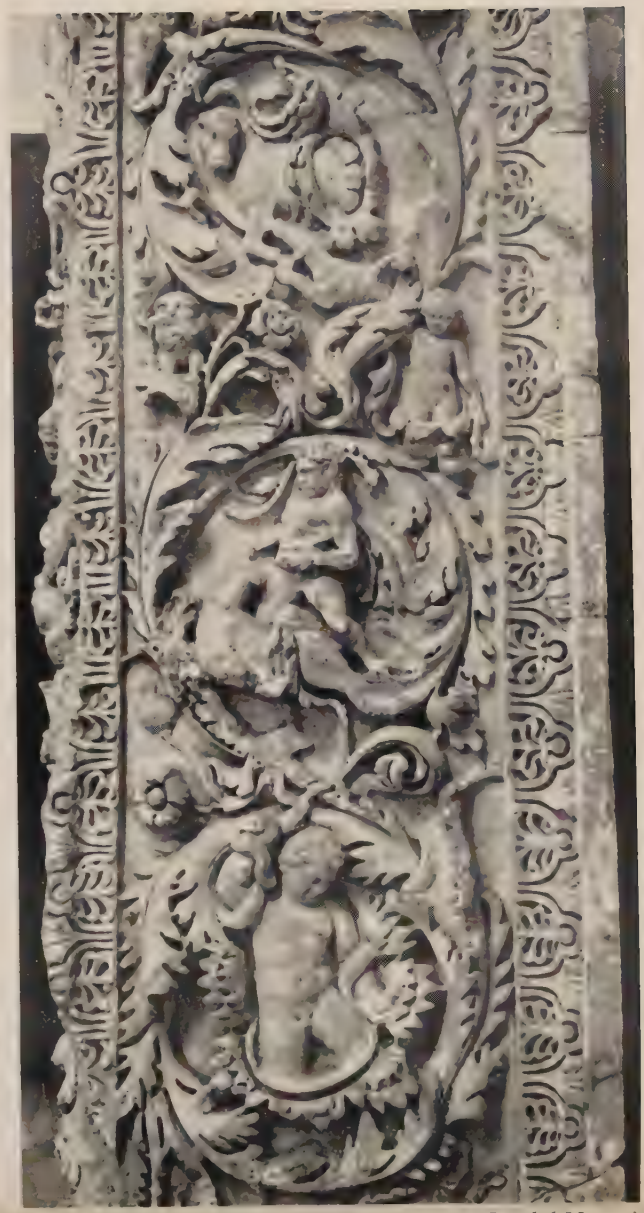

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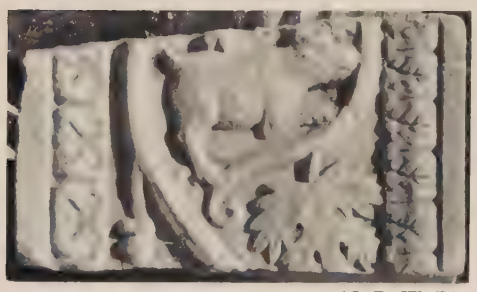

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